A DEFENSE OF SCHUMANN'S INTENTIONS FOR THE ORCHESTRATION OF HIS SYMPHONY NO. 3 "RHENISH"

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Chapter 1: Introduction

General background for Schumann Symphony No. 3 "Rhenish"

Most Schumann scholars view the year 1850 as the marker for his late style. This is the year he was appointed the Music Director of Düsseldorf. By this time, Schumann had established himself as a leading composer of his time, and some even regarded him as the successor of Beethoven. He was no longer the young, avant-garde leader of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, who wrote for the future of German music by handpicking and promoting the finest composers of his time. Schumann had established himself through his songs and chamber music, and he was now a public figure who held an esteemed position. Unlike his other symphonic works, the 3rd Symphony, written during his last years, did not go through many revisions and there was no need for him to try to find a publisher because he was already a famous composer with a good number of musical fans following him. He purely wrote for the joy of writing and to celebrate the new post in Düsseldorf.

Schumann was in charge of the Düsseldorf orchestra, Gesang-Musikverein choral society, as well as directing two Catholic churches, Saint Lambertus and the Maximiliankirche. The new position brought a steady income for the family and performance venues for his compositions. This actually gave him more liberty to write as he wished, and he took advantage of his position by writing for both small and large genres during his stay at Düsseldorf.

The background for the 3rd Symphony is important to understand because the reception of his time differs greatly from the criticisms that followed him after his death. Schumann's symphonies, in comparison to his other compositions, had a

difficult time being accepted by the public. However, studied in context, the 3rd Symphony had many factors that would clear its misconceptions and these will be explored throughout this document.

Earlier compositions; 1840-1849

In Schumann's early years, he was known for his songs and piano works, and depended upon the income from the publications of these works. Although he claimed that he did not care about the public's approval of his pieces,[1] Schumann secretly desired to bring home more income for his growing family and win people's favor as his wife Clara did through her piano performances. During their early honeymoon period, Schumann expressed to Clara his desire to travel to major cities to bring major pieces that would win public's praise with orchestral pieces, such as a piano concert and symphony.[2] Clara wholeheartedly encouraged him, and throughout her life she showed unwavering support for him as he ventured into various genres.

His first symphony was sketched in just four days in January of 1841, and was completed shortly afterward in a couple of weeks. It received a favorable premier under the baton of Mendelssohn in Leipzig. Mendelssohn was already an accomplished conductor of that time, and Schumann often sought his opinion. [3]

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[1] Joseph Wilhelm von Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann,* 2nd ed. (Dresden: Kuntze, 1869), 94.
[2] Eugene Schumann, "Diary of Robert and Clara Schumann" in *Music & Letters, Vol. 15, No. 4*, trans. G. D. H. Pidcock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934) 290.
[3] Ibid., 293. In the marriage diary on the week of March 1st in 1841 and several subsequent entries, both Robert and Clara recorded their encounter with

Mendelssohn worked with Schumann to bring the piece its deserved performance and it was under the baton of Mendelssohn that Schumann's First Symphony was successful. This brought a higher recognition to Schumann.

Schumann did not wait long to compose another symphonic work, *"Overture, Scherzo, and Finale"* Op. 52. Sketched in April and finished in May of 1841, its premier did not take place until December of that year. Unfortunately in this performance, Mendelssohn was not on the podium to do justice to Schumann's miniature symphonic work, and the Leipzig audience did not find this piece as convincing as the First symphony. The Overture, Scherzo and Finale was not published until 1845 and even after its publication, Schumann continued to revise it for seven more years. He once contemplated calling this work his second symphony, but the low level of support from the audience and publishers alike influenced him to rework this piece and keep the original title unchanged.

The year 1841 was a prolific year for Schumann, having completed three major symphonic works. In the same month shortly after finishing *Overture, Scherzo, and Finale,* Schumann began composing the D Minor Symphony, which was premiered on the same concert with *Overture, Scherzo, and Finale* in December of that year. Not only was performing two symphonies side by side in the same concert a disadvantage to Schumann in gaining favor from the audience, it also did not help that these performances had two flashing superstar pianists, Franz Liszt and Clara Schumann, playing in the first half of the concert. The audience gave ecstatic applause to the piano duo versus lukewarm, receptions of Schumann's symphonic

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Mendelssohn, specifically in connection with the First Symphony and its successful premier under the guidance of Mendelssohn.

works.[4] After its premier, the D Minor Symphony went through many revisions. Ten years after its premier, and having published two more symphonies in between, Schumann published the D Minor Symphony as the 4th Symphony.

The symphony composed after the D Minor Symphony is his C Major Symphony, which is published as the 2nd. Schumann suffered agonizing depression prior to writing this symphony. The bright key of C major prevails throughout the symphony and this positive outlook in the midst of inner and outer struggle can be found in Schumann's other writings of this period as well. This symphony too, like the previous two orchestral works, had a difficult time getting published, as its reception was not favorable at first. Schumann wrote to his conductor friend, Georg Dietrich Otten, admitting that perhaps his depressed condition is shown in the symphony.[5] Aside from the 1st Symphony in Leipzig, Schumann's symphonic writings did not obtain success, and he had to battle with mixed criticism.

In the following years, the Schumanns lived in Dresden and Leipzig and had productive years, financially, socially, emotionally and musically. He wrote, "For some time now I've been very busy – it's been my most fruitful year – it seemed as if the outer storms compelled people to turn inward."[6] Schumann was making more money than before, teaching and writing larger instrumentation works. In 1849, he wrote close to 40 works, and wrote for larger ensembles using choirs, chorus and orchestra, horn and orchestra as well as chamber music.

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[4] John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a New Poetic Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 225.
[5] Daverio, *Herald,* 321.
[6] Ibid., 388.

Düsseldorf in 1850

He did not compose another symphony until 1850, when he came to Düsseldorf as the new music director, succeeding Ferdinand Hiller. As mentioned earlier, his move to Düsseldorf in 1850 opened a new chapter of his life, a final one before his move to the asylum in Endenich. At the beginning of the move, Schumann was in a good health and enjoyed the new challenge and post. The whole family was elated with the warm reception by the citizens of Düsseldorf. At the appointment of Schumann as the new director of music, the town held celebration events with a concert devoted to Schumann's music, a celebratory dinner and a ball, along with other festive events. He had a burst of new creative energy when he wrote the E-flat major symphony and he had confidence that it would be a success. As if in token of thanks to the town, this symphony particularly included folk elements and local color that later it took on the title "Rhenish". The music journal *Signale* recounts the successful premier in Düsseldorf; "Our rather phlegmatic audience, which is somewhat sparing with its applause, was carried away to such an extent by the great inherent sweep of the work that it broke out into loud exclamations after the individual movements and at the end, in which acclaim finally the orchestra, too, heartily joined by means of a three-fold-'hurrah.'..."[7] With a great start to the new appointment, it was apparent that Schumann was a successful symphonic composer and as a result, his position at Düsseldorf was well secured.

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[7] *Signale f*ür *Musickalische Welt Vol. 9. No. 8* (20 February 1851), 73-4, quoted in Robert Schumann, *New Edition of the Complete Works: Symphony No. 3 Op. 97,* ed. Linda Correll Roesner (Mainz: Schott, 1995), 192.

Despite the fame and security that Schumann had in Düsseldorf and the successful premier of the 3rd symphony, successive performances of this symphony received drastically different reviews. Due to the miscommunication among Schumann, his copyist, and the orchestra personnel, Schumann unfortunately did not have enough rehearsal time and the performance had to be put together in haste in Koln. He was not present at the first rehearsal, and some wind parts were missing.[8] Inevitably, the review in the following issue of the *Signale* shows a contrasting reception of the work than its premier in Düsseldorf. It recounts the event as follows; "… the first three movements pleased us increasingly. Only the 4th and 5th movements contain muddled ideas… On the whole the symphony was received with something like lukewarm tolerance by the audience…"[9] To make matters worse, the journalist compared the Schumann symphony to the Spontini overture "Oylmpia" that was on the same concert, and wrote that the violins "penetrated" the orchestral texture three times stronger than Schumann's symphony.[10] Schumann wrote a cold reply refuting the statements and wrote, "the three trombones failed completely to play in the 4th movement, and the difficulty that this produced for the entire orchestra also had an influence on the effect of the last movement." He added, "The "muddled state" of those movements was therefore a consequence of performance, not of composition, something the critic ought to

[8] Robert Schumann, *New Edition of the Complete Works: Symphony No. 3 Op. 97,* ed. Linda Correll Roesner (Mainz: Schott, 1995), 191 (Letter, 21 February 1851).
[9] Ibid., 193 (*Signale*, Vol. 9, No. 12 (20 March 1851), 117).
[10] Ibid., 193.

have observed."[11] This statement by Schumann against the music critic's naïve and uninformed opinions should be studied to re-evaluate the performance practices and misunderstandings that occurred throughout the following centuries.

As with many leading master composers of the past, Schumann likewise had difficulty getting his pieces performed and reviewed. It is recorded in Schumann's letters and journal that he constantly had to work on promoting his pieces, and unfortunately his unstable emotional state hindered the already difficult situation. During a tour with Clara to Russia, Schumann sought to get his First Symphony performed in Moscow. He did not succeed in promoting his music aside from the smaller chamber work, his Piano Quintet, which was received with enthusiasm.[12] Toward the end of Clara and Schumann's Russia tour in 1844, Schumann had a severe "nervous fever" that made him stay in bed for almost a week, and the depression worsened to a point where he could not communicate well. Not long after they returned to Leipzig, he sold the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, his beloved journal, to Franz Brendel, passing on his legacy as a music critic and the influence he had.

Throughout Schumann's life, he was at a constant battle with his aesthetic principles versus the general public's approval that would promote his music. He went through many revisions of his symphonies, particularly the 4th one, to adjust to the needs of the orchestra and other musicians. After the less-than wholehearted enthusiasm for the D Minor Symphony, Schumann withheld the publication for ten

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[11] Ibid., 194. Letter postmarked 28 March 1851 (An anonymous 'clarification' corresponding to the above appeared in a later issue of the *Signale* (Vol. 9, No. 15, 3 April 1851), 139.
[12] Daverio, *Herald,* 289.

years as he revised the work completely. Although he believed in composing a piece as quickly as it came to his mind, he often revisited his compositions and was open to new ideas. As for the D Minor Symphony, Clara firmly believed the revision was better than the initial work, but Brahms disagreed and preferred the original. He wrote to Herzogenberg, "It is a real pleasure to see anything so bright and spontaneous expressed with corresponding ease and grace… Everything is so absolutely natural that you cannot imagine it different; there are no harsh colors, no forced effects, and so on."[13] To Clara he wrote, "Everyone who sees it (the double score) agrees with me that the score has not gained by being remodeled; it has certainly lost in charm, ease and clarity. Unfortunately, however, I cannot make any thorough trial anywhere."[14] This notion of revision is the subject of study that will be examined closely in future chapters.

His third symphony is one of the rare works that did justice to both the ideals of his aesthetics and popular elements of that time and place. His concert in Düsseldorf included a program note by the composer himself, written about the "Rhenish" elements in the piece.[15] Particularly the fourth movement is written "in the character of a procession for a solemn ceremony", owing its inspiration from the ceremony of the Archbishop of Cologne's elevation to Cardinal, hence its relation to

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[13] Max Kalbeck, ed., and Hannah Bryant, trans., *Johannes Brahms, the Herzogenberg Correspondence* (London: John Murray, 1909), 286.
[14] Berthold Litzmann, ed., *Letters of Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms, 1853-1896, Vol. 2* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927),127.
[15] Linda Correll Roesner, 179 (Letter 19 March to the publishing firm of N. Simrock)

church music.[16] It is no wonder the Düsseldorf audience related immediately to the piece since they were locals and the Rhine was dear to their hearts.

The German tradition

Schumann was an adamant supporter and prominent leader of the Germanic tradition. Just as Mendelssohn used his musical post at Leipzig to promote Bach's choral and orchestral works, Schumann used his post at Düsseldorf to promote the great works of Bach and other master composers. The Schumanns wrote enthusiastically of the first of the "Historical Concerts of Bach and Handel" in their Marriage Diary that they collaborated with Mendelssohn. This concert contained Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, Handel's Variations, and Bach's B Minor Mass, among others.[17] Both Clara and Schumann, and their close circle including Mendelssohn and Brahms, were diligent students of Bach's counterpoint.

It is important to note Schumann was against the popular rising trend of programmatic music and had deep roots in the music of the past. At the same time, he wrote his Third symphony to suite the taste of the locals reflecting upon the local scenes and nature all the while not compromising on this aesthetic stance and musical style. He stood firm on leading the Germanic tradition of full symphony without any attached program, yet incorporated the scenic and programmatic elements as he desired. Schumann's music is placed in the middle of the battle between absolute and program music.

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[16] Ibid., 179.
[17] Eugene Schumann, "Diary", 291-2.

This dichotomy resulted in many questions regarding their purpose and desired effects, particularly after Schumann's death. Just as the choral society became popular with the growth of the middle class, the opera house took a new role and its popularity blossomed into a new genre of romanticism. This growth affected symphonies in many ways as evident in Berlioz, Liszt and later on, Strauss and Mahler. Program music and tone poems required more diverse sound palettes, and the orchestra was the perfect medium to display the various sound colors. In attempt to use more sound effects, Berlioz wrote in his *Treatise on Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration* that he wished to employ thirty harps and nine hundred and thirty four strings for a large band, if possible.[18] Not quite as large as Berlioz imagined, but one that was a significantly sizeable orchestra brewed and grew in Bayreuth, conceived by Wagner and nurtured by his devotees. Along with Wagner, whose shrine was at the opera house, other symphonic composers such as Bruckner, Mahler and Strauss also wrote for larger ensembles with more colorful effects. The war against absolute music was at its peak in the late 19th century and Schumann was caught in between the ill-defined line.

Critics

Felix Weingartner, one of the leading conductors of the early 1900's and harshest critics of Schumann symphonies, wrote vehemently against Schumann as being a poor orchestrator and that he simply did not know how to write for the orchestra. Weingartner claimed Schumann tried to be like Mendelssohn but could

[18] Hector Berlioz, *A Treatise on Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration,* trans. Mary Cowden Clarke (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1882), 243.

not. He further wrote that Schumann's prejudice against Wagner made unnecessary enmity between absolute and program music. In his review of *Symphony Writers since Beethoven,* he claims that Schumann "turned completely away from Wagner, and then, in opposition to him, hailed in glowing terms, as a future musical Messiah, a young man who at that time was only known by his piano sonatas… Johannes Brahms."[19] In addition, Weingartner audaciously wrote that Brahms "owes a great deal of his… reputation… to the incessant efforts of a group of Wagner's enemies, who never lost an opportunity of comparing him with the Master of Bayreuth."[20] This kind of pompous attitude is seen in other conductors of this generation who conducted all music with absolute authority, as if they themselves were ordained to do what the composers had failed to accomplish.

Musicians of the early 20th century wrote freely of their opinions on the composers of the past. Sir Donald Francis Tovey in his *Essays in Musical Analysis* criticized Schumann's orchestration that "tragedy was latent in it from the outset, and became manifest in his pitiful failure as a conductor" and compared his symphony to "old dressing-gown and carpet-slippers amid thick clouds of tobacco smoke."[21] Less pejorative remarks, perhaps with similar sentiment, are made by many conductors, including Fritz Busch who advised conductors to "not shrink from

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[19] Felix Weingartner, *The Symphony Writers Since Beethoven,* trans. Arthur Bles (London: William Reeves, 1907), 41.
[20] Ibid., 41-2.
[21] Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Symphonies II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 47-8.

such radical touching up as both Mahler and Weingartner"[22] and Bruno Walter that believed retouching is "an unavoidable duty, for Schumann's original orchestration is unable to do justice either to the spiritual content of the work or to its thematic clarity…"[23]

For over a century, conductors, performers and musicologists have misunderstood Schumann symphonies and confirmed the view of Weingartner and his followers by adding or subtracting from Schumann's original scores. Many notable conductors such as Mahler, Toscanini, Szell, Furtwängler, and Walter, have reorchestrated Schumann symphonies, claiming they are doing justice and at times, even favor, to Schumann through their retouching. In return, the audience sought to hear more of Mahler's sound and the individual conductors' sound rather than hearing Schumann as how Schumann was heard at his premier.

Attempted "solutions"

Period performance practice has been somewhat preserved for older composers, such as Bach, Mozart and Haydn, because they obviously had different instruments and instrumentations. No one questioned the lightness of Haydn symphonic playing style because it was apparent that he wrote for the small Esterhazy ensemble, and Bach wrote for the general keyboard, not fortepiano. It is unfortunate that Schumann was in an ambiguous place in the musical tug of war of

[22] Fritz Busch, *Pages from a Musician's Life* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1953), 82, quoted in Asher George Zlotnik, "Orchestration revisions in the symphonies of Robert Schumann" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1972), 16.
[23] Bruno Walter, *Of Music and Music-Making* (New York: Norton, 1961), 63, quoted in Asher George Zlotnik, "Orchestration revisions in the symphonies of Robert Schumann" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1972), 15.

absolute and program music, and his symphonies were left to the conductors for their free interpretation.

It is not until recently that musicians have sought different kind of sounds than what the ears were accustomed to. More period instruments were explored and period style studied. This brought a dilemma for the modern orchestra because for decades, the orchestra practiced to perfect luscious, romantic lines from its strings and for wind and brass instruments, fine tune and remake the instruments for better sound quality and intonation. Not only instruments themselves, the art of virtuosity became mandatory for all instruments. Dynamic range broadened and all sections are required to be at ease with both *ppppp* and *fffff* with perfect tone control. Just as the lyric soprano glories in her strong high C as well as her soft high notes, the orchestra developed into a well-oiled instrument that can perform almost any kind of challenges that composers have written over centuries.

It is unfortunate that Schumann has been misunderstood as a composer who could not write in glorious orchestral virtuosity, as did Mahler and Strauss. The question that must be addressed is, what was Schumann's intention? What factors affected his composition? Most importantly, how did he hear his music, and is it possible that perhaps conductors and performers that came after his time sought to hear it differently due to their own clouded ears from the post-Wagnerian orchestras?

How Schumann would have composed for the modern orchestra, is an on-going quest and question that we will never fully know. However, to label Schumann as a bad symphonic composer is not only pompous, but also naive. Observing from

history, his symphonies were well received in some places and poorly in some other. Instead of reworking Schumann to match the late-romantic composers to fit the ears of the late-romantic listeners, it is important to study Schumann's intentions for these symphonies and to first hear them as Schumann heard them. In the following chapters, I will discuss how the role of a conductor and relation to the orchestra has shaped the perception of Schumann symphonies. I will briefly discuss the common misunderstandings of Schumann from notable conductors since the 1800's. To offer a solution of re-interpreting Schumann, I will focus on understanding his intentions by comparing his symphonic writing style to his other works and discussing the performance practice of Schumann's time.

This thesis is aimed to give practical suggestions for the modern orchestra and particularly its conductors as they are faced with a dichotomy of listening backward from post-Wagnerian ears, particularly to suit the ears of the 21st century audience who are paying the bills, versus listening forward from Mozart and Beethoven, as did Schumann, with the knowledge of history and freshness brought to the museum pieces from centuries past.

Chapter 2: Orchestra from 1700 to 1850

Orchestra before Schumann's time

To prepare 21st century ears for a clearer and more honest perception of Schumann, it is imperative that we immerse ourselves in the sounds that surrounded Schumann's time. This chapter will focus on the evolution of the instruments and orchestra as an ensemble to better understand Schumann's musical surrounding.

Early instrumental ensembles

Accompanying force

Orchestra as a separate entity was still a new trend in the early 1800's. People were still accustomed to listening to orchestra music for the sake of some other occasion and purpose such as opera, worship accompaniment, or dance. This notion of orchestra as an accompanying force stems from the earliest recollection in a literature. In the book of Daniel in the Old Testament Bible, it is recorded that King Nebuchadnezzar used a musical ensemble to cue the people when to bow to the statue. This "sinfonia" had a various combination of instruments sounding together and its purpose was to notify the citizens to bow to the golden statue he made.[1] There are other mentions of instrumental ensembles, often in literatures affiliated with religion. The term "orchestra" derived from the location in the Greek theater where the instrumentalists were placed, and it grew to be a name associated with a

[1] Henry Raynor, *The Orchestra* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), 11.

group of instruments playing together.[2] From centuries and millennia ago, instrumental ensembles were used as an assisting force to another agenda.

The tradition of orchestra as an accompanying group remained in the Renaissance, Baroque and even until the High Classical period. The early pioneers of symphonies, Johann Stamitz, Leopold Hofmann, Haydn and Mozart and many more composers left volumes of symphonies and other orchestral works for their instrumental ensembles to fit the occasion for their patrons. Some of the popular occasions that brought forth such gathering of instrumentalists were for the high feast days for the local church, civic holidays, and entertainment of the nobles of the town with dances and banquets.[3]

Classical orchestra

Generic sound

In the symphonies of the classical composers in the late 1700's, many aspects of the performance were left up to the ensemble leader and performers, who extended the performance practice of the former generation. It is interesting to note the massive volume of symphonies that are left from Haydn's 104, Mozart's 41, 600 overtures from Telemann, Quantz's 300 concertos, etc. [4] Compare this to the handfuls of the next Century's composers who seemed to have a hard time even writing their nine or fewer symphonies. It is because many aspects of the 18th

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[2] "Merriam-Webster Dictionary," accessed July 22, 2014, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/orchestra.
[3] Adam Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1949), 15.
[4] Ibid., 7.

century symphony were written in a generic way in terms of instrumentation, form, thematic and harmonic development and even some of the melodic lines. For instrumentation, the violin lines were usually written on one line as a divisi. Woodwinds were written to reinforce the strings to make the ensemble louder depending on the type of occasion, number of attendees, venue, etc. The popular sonata form, or even the loose ternary form, with dominant modulation followed by a recapitulation was the expected norm.

While still generic in many ways, the classical composers wrote out parts for the specific instruments of their choice in attempt to leave less room for random doubling, unlike composers of the previous era who were comfortable leaving most aspects of the music up to the performers with the bare figured bass line. Still, adding ornaments, even in orchestral playing, was not uncommon. This style of playing at times allowed for beautifully ornamented playing, and also occasions of cacophony with many players embellishing the same line simultaneously.[5] The use of keyboard as a continuo diminished towards the late 1700's, but still the writing style for the orchestra remained as a simple string ensemble doubled by winds, and depending on the availability and the location of the performance, brass and percussion were recruited to add to the volume.[6]

Instruments were interchangeable. When one was not available, another was employed. Mozart wrote for flute and oboe interchangeably, and many composers saw this kind of changing of the instrument as an expected norm. Although they

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[5] Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), 88, 92.
[6] Carse, *Orchestra*, 107-8.

were often writing for specific instruments, this was a way to compensate for the unavailability of some winds, which happened more frequently than not. Instrument makers were constantly experimenting to improve or replace the older instruments for better sound, and instrumentalists adapted and learned the new instruments. This called for more composers to write for these specific instruments and instrumentalists. Mozart wrote the famous clarinet quintet and clarinet concerto for Anton Stadler, who was a pioneer in performing the newly developed instrument. Mozart also wrote solo lines for the winds in his symphonies to show off these wind instruments that were taking over the old ones, and for the players especially who were trying unprecedented virtuosic techniques on these instruments.

Changes were happening rapidly, so there was no unified standard, or even unified pitch. In most cases ensembles were tuned to match the woodwind pitch. Many woodwinds were made to fit the natural position of the hand, which resulted in different intonations within the instrument itself,[7,8] and the pitch of all the instruments was at least a quarter tone lower than the modern standard of A440.[9] Equal temperament tuning was introduced in Bach's time with the development of the keyboard, but the ensemble's pitch was up to the woodwind player and it varied from town to town. Although woodwind instruments went through a significant change since the Renaissance through the Baroque, instruments were far from being

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[7] Hector Berlioz and Richard Strauss, *Treatise on Instrumentation* (New York: Dover 1991), 227.
[8] Carse, *Orchestra,* 404-5.
[9] Anton Felix Schindler, *Beethoven As I Knew Him,* ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 351.

perfect with varied pitch and awkward intonation, which added to the challenge the composers faced on top of varied or missing wind instrumentation in ensembles.

Early romantic orchestra

The history of orchestra can be traced in various ways, such as through composed works, performance venues, or development of instruments. All these factors affected and fed off of each other, and logically and historically, the ones that lasted over their period of time became part of the standard classical music. The musical world went through many changes within a short span of a century in the 18th century and the evolution of instruments and instrumentation was still actively in motion in the turn of the century. An obvious and interesting factor is that the style of composition or its instrumental sound does not get canonized until that time has passed. When Schumann wrote his First Symphony in 1841, many of these transient and ever evolving changes were still in motion. The modern orchestra did not take hold of the musical world until after his death. As with many composers of Schumann's time, he was faced with the dilemma of writing for the un-unified orchestra sound.

Historical background

In the late 1700's and early 1800's at the stir of individualism, equality, mysticism, and romanticism, the residue from the French revolution brought up the middle class for the citizens' participation in the music making. Concerts and operas were popular forms of entertainment and news about the latest performance of a

new rising composer or performer was a heated topic among common citizens. Mendelssohn wrote to Hiller on his thoughts of music in Italy, "… people have new music every year, and must also have a new opinion every year, - if only the music and the opinions were a little better."[10] As record sales and pop stars receive their news spotlight in the modern days, so were the composers and virtuoso performers of the early 1800's. Opera houses were constantly looking for works to premier, hence the large volume of works in the early 19th century with composers like Hasse writing 100 operas and Piccini with 139 operas.[11] Composers had to be prolific to get attention and fame and numerous musicians strove to get in to the music business with their new compositions.

Schumann was tired of this mass production of mediocrity and wrote harshly against it in *NZFM,* "The great number of recent symphonies drop into the overture style, especially in their first movements; the slow movements are there because slow movements are required; the scherzos have nothing of the scherzo about them save the name; the last movements completely forget what the former ones contained…"[12] The *NZFM* played a big role to sort out the good composers from the bad ones in the midst of this quickly rising number. Schumann was well acquainted with famous musicians of his day. He helped to promote the young, rising ones through the *NZFM*. In an article reviewing Chopin, he wrote "Hats off, gentlemen – a

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[10] Ferdinand Hiller, *Mendelssohn; Letters and Recollections*, trans. M. E. von Glehn (London: Macmillan and Co., 1874), 125.
[11] Carse, *Orchestra,* 7.
[12] Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians,* ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Pantheon, 1952), 62.

genius!"[13] and of Berlioz, "a virtuoso in respect to the orchestra." [14] Schumann played a big role in promoting the gifted artists as works were flooding the concert venues of this time.

Development of instrument and instrumentation

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Schumann was prompted to write a symphony to gain a larger audience for public concerts. It is only natural that he first wrote for the piano and other smaller scale genre because he did not have a patron, as did Beethoven and other classical composers. As a matter of fact, it was hard for pianists and other instrumentalists to write for the orchestra simply because they did not have access to one and were not guaranteed a performance.[15] When he first wrote the symphony, he did not have an orchestra for which he specifically wrote. A standard orchestra did not exist because the instrumentation varied from one occasion to another, and its make up ranged anywhere from a small chamber-like classical model orchestra to a large ad hoc mixture of various music societies and bands, such as the one Berlioz used in France to perform his *Requiem* in 1837 with some 300 performers.[16]

The orchestra has experienced many changes since Beethoven's time. A prominent conductor that lived from 1869 to 1944, Sir Henry Wood recollects the sound of the orchestra as the following: "The tone quality in all departments of the modern orchestra has changed even within my living memory. I can still hear the

[13] Ibid., 126.
[14] Ibid., 177.
[15] Carse, *Orchestra,* 6.
[16] Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 185.

Crystal Palace Orchestra under August Manns, and the Richter Orchestra at St. James's, so hard and blasting, so different from the B. B. C. Symphony Orchestra and our other fine permanent orchestras of to-day."[17] From the instruments, make up of musicians, style of its leadership, patronage, performance venue, style of playing and repertoire, all these aspects took a new turn since the start of the 20th century.

Woondwinds

The development of woodwind instruments continued to advance quickly. Flute, which was formerly made of boxwood, ebony, cocuswood, or ivory, had keys of brass, silver or pewter, and more metal parts were used.[18] Oboes still had different ranges and were not uniform, but the tone quality and facility got better with added keys.[19] The older model of the woodwind instruments had holes made to fit the natural position of the fingers, thus sacrificing intonation, but the newer instruments were made with rational division of the sound holes and added keys to facilitate the virtuosic style of playing. The english horn remained scarce for the next century, but was utilized by some composers. The clarinet had gone through many changes since its debut with Mozart's quintet and concerto, and many other concertos that followed, yet it still went through more changes. Another major problem with the clarinet was that they were made in too many different transpositions, each with a different tone color.[20] Two streams of instrument

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[17] Daniel J. Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1981), 85.
[18] Adam Carse, *Musical Wind Instruments* (New York: Dover, 2002), 91.
[19] Ibid., 138.
[20] Berlioz, *Treatise,* 206.

making developed: the simple 13 keyed versus the Boehm clarinet, which was patented in 1844.[21] The Boehm clarinet became more accepted everywhere except in Germany.[22]

Brass

As for the brass instruments, rotary-valve instruments were taking place over the natural horns of the previous era. From this change, various voices came for and against these new instruments. Berlioz wrote in his letter to Louise Berton in regards to Berlin Opera, "A number of composers object to the rotary-valve horn because, they maintain, its timbre is inferior to that of the natural horn. I have several times experimented by listening to the open notes of the natural horn and of the chromatic or rotary-valve horn one after the other, and I must confess I could not detect the slightest difference in timbre or volume…"[23] Berlioz wrote of a different account of the piston valved horn in his treatise and wrote that it should be "treated almost as a separate instrument."[24] Despite the mixed reception of the valve horns, many players have welcomed these new instruments and used them even for the works written for natural horn from the previous era.[25]

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[21] Carse, *Musical,* 163-4.
[22] Ibid., 165.
[23] Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz from 1803 to 1865,* trans. Rachel (Scott Russell) Holmes and Eleanor Holmes, annotated and translation revised by Earnest Newman (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1932), 307.
[24] Berlioz, *Treatise,* 250-60.
[25] Ibid., 260.

The valved trumpet first made its appearance in the military and soon other bands adapted this new instrument.[26] By mid 1800's all other types disappeared except for the piston and the rotary valve ones.[27] Gradual shortening of the length helped to produce higher pitch and deepening of the mouthpiece helped to produce more favorable sound in the instrument.[28]

Trombones have gone through the least amount of changes. The Germans have experimented with the soprano trombone, but it was hardly known in other places and the valved trumpet did well in providing for the high range.[29] The three favorites were alto, tenor and bass trombones, although the tenor trombone was used the most.[30]

The most common complaint on the rising valved brass instruments were that the timbres were too similar and that they lost the diversity of the older brass instruments. Glitz complained of the "great homogeneity of sound" and wrote even further that the new instruments are "disastrous… for coloring, diversity of timbre, for instrumental richness, ..."[31] Diversity and timbre were sacrificed for the new possibility for the chromatic range of notes.

There were some instruments that slowly disappeared from the orchestra, but this change was gradual and not universal. At one point, the old wood serpent was popular, but it was one of the first instruments to exit the orchestral family.[32]

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[26] Carse, *Musical*, 239.
[27] Ibid., 240.
[28] Ibid., 241.
[29] Ibid., 256.
[30] Ibid., 257.
[31] Ibid., 93.
[32] Koury, *Orchestra,* 98-9, 12.

The ophicleide was used in Paris but in most other places tuba ruled it out.[33] Many composers thought the ophicleide had too big of a sound, but Mendelssohn in his *Elijah* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* used its different timbre and the loud volume to his advantage to fit the music's comical character.[34]

Percussions

The changes for percussion did not take place until later in the 19th century. In Mozart's time two kettledrums were the norm, if they were used at all, and one person was to manage both. In the romantic era of the 1800's the number of drums increased to three, four and more, and their personnel grew proportionately. Castil-Blaze wrote in 1820 that two drums cause a difficulty in tuning when having to modulate because there is no dominant in the new modulated key.[35] Some composers, like Meyerbeer, used four kettledrum in *Robert-le-Diable*, but as with the brass, composers were still experimenting with the percussion section. It is not until Berlioz that the percussion section grew and evolved drastically with different style of playing, number of percussion instruments, etc.

Strings

The string section did not go through such dramatic changes as the woodwind and brass; however, performance style and the sound itself changed. Until 1820 and even later, violins and violas did not have a chin rest. Koury, in his

[33] Ibid., 99.
[34] Ibid., 100.
[35] Ibid., 101.

book that discusses 19th century performance practice, speculates the addition of the chin rest to violin and viola and the spike in cello may have contributed to a wider vibrato in performance. Whereas the baroque violinists played mainly on one position, the lengthening of the violin neck and rounding of the bridge made it easier for virtuoso violinists to play in higher positions. Metal coiling on the gut strings gave, particularly for the lower strings, and convex bow provided stronger sonority.

In 1820, some people played with three-stringed basses but this instrument offered a small range compared to one that had four or five strings. Also, tuning for basses was not standardized early in the century. At this time the basses were called *Kontraviolon* because they were tuned opposite of the violin. Some tunings followed the tradition of the viol da gamba with A, D G like cello and the lowest string F or E. Spohr told Smart to tune the lowest note to E, to match the reverse of the violins. In Vienna the basses had five strings.[36]

Endless speculation can be poured out on questions that are worth noting. Which demand came first, the instrument makers or instrumentalists? How about instruments versus composers, or instrumentalists compared to composers? Many times composers wrote with a specific instrumentalist in mind, a tradition that is widely continued unto this day. Koury points out that Beethoven must have known the instrument of the fourth horn player of the Vienna Theater because in the Adagio of the 9th Symphony, only the fourth horn is written for the valve horn. Apparently the 4th horn player was the only one that had a valved horn at his

[36] Ibid., 110.

disposal. How were composers to write if they did not know in advance which orchestra would play their piece?

As the number of virtuosos grew, demands for brighter tone, louder volume, and bigger range came naturally for all the instruments. Virtuosos like Paganini and Liszt brought forth a huge demand for their instruments and capabilities, and musicians like the English harpist Parish-Alvars brought new attention to their major instruments. As solo repertoire varies as the instruments of their time, along with its performance practice, even more so for the orchestra, which is made of various combinations of the various different instruments. The orchestra of the 1800's was constantly changing to fit the need of the society, the growing size of audience, the availability of the performance location, the creative minds of the composers, the invention of new instruments, and the presence or sometimes the absence of skillful players.

Performance halls

Along with the quickly developing instruments, orchestra sound and a wealth of composers, another important factor for the development of symphonies and the musical culture of concert going was the concert hall. Most of the halls were not big enough to fit a large orchestra on stage so orchestras had to be small. Big concert halls were not built until later in the century, and people held smaller scale concerts with solo instrumentalists. In conjunction with popularity of the newly built pianoforte, string and wind instruments with stronger sounds, solo performances took the lead in concert in many concert halls. The popularity of virtuosos was rising

with acclaimed violinist Paganini and famous pianists as Franz Liszt and Clara Wieck, who later became Clara Schumann, along with other woodwind soloists. It is fitting that Schumann wrote much for the piano in his earlier years because there was more demand for piano music than other genre, and Schumann's piano music and songs quickly gained success among the popular crowd.

The composers that are generally known as romantic composers were placed in the foreground of this constant evolution and experimentation of sound. If the instruments came first, which ones were they to utilize? If they did not have these instruments at their disposal, which ones were they to employ? If a composer chose to use instruments that were already in existence from the previous century, was this composer writing in the former style of the classical period, or in the style of the forward romantics? These were a few of the many dilemmas for the composers before, during and after Schumann's time. Only time would tell the future of orchestra and symphonic literature for Schumann and his contemporaries.

Orchestra during Schumann's time

One can only imagine the sound from an opera theater during Schumann's time, or of any orchestra for that matter. There would be many variables, such as the number and type of instruments. In good weather, there would be a large crowd, as opposed to a rainy day when there would be many empty seats even in the orchestra. People would be eating and talking during a performance, and the performers would also eat their snacks or puff on their cigarettes between the scenes. Regardless of how foreign this seems compared to the modern opera, one thing is for sure, people were always interested in hearing the latest composition and opera was in its highest demand during the 1800's. Even more than the repertoire, it would be the composer and the director who would attract the crowd. Schumann, Mendelssohn, Liszt, Wagner, Berlioz, and all the other composers who were active during this time were interested in opera because orchestras existed to accompany operas that were always in high demand. Writing a successful opera guaranteed a composer's livelihood and fame.

Regional orchestras

Germany

There is substantial evidence that the orchestras in Germany were second rate. The best they had within Germany was the Berlin Opera orchestra. Berlin Opera got the cream of the crop of available musicians and the other cities got to glean their musicians afterward. The two other cities that were quite strong in music, Dresden and Munich, got their pick of musicians right after Berlin. The best

musicians aimed for Berlin, but even if they missed their goal, there were always other orchestras that would hire them because there were opera theaters in every town in Germany. Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Stuttgart, Düsseldorf and Hamburg played a role in the musical scene, but it was not a significant one that would leave an imprint on Germany. Nevertheless, Germany had a wealth of music from the sheer number of opera theaters and orchestras and the citizen's love for music.[37]

The Berlin, Dresden and Munich opera orchestras had many notable professionally trained players. Orchestras in other smaller cities consisted of the town musicians who had little training in the instrument, and often had to learn three or four instruments, both string and wind. Their level of playing was not up to the level of Berlin or France orchestras. Another big problem of German orchestras lay in the funding of these orchestras. If the city had a court of a prince or nobles, the court funded these musicians and the finances were secured. Musicians were not paid well, but it was at least a secure government job. Some cities, such as Hamburg and Düsseldorf did not have a city court that funded music and the town people had to raise money for their orchestra and opera theater. As a result, the pay for the orchestra musicians was much lower and the quality of the musician was difficult to maintain. Even the other towns that had courts with more decent orchestras did not pay their musicians well enough despite the demand of playing almost each night during the week.

Perhaps due to their low wage, or the relaxed custom of the time, orchestra musicians had a different mannerism in their playing. When it was raining, there

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[37] Carse, *Orchestra,* 108.

were many missing desks (music stands). During the performance, it was common for orchestra musicians to talk among themselves or take a break as they pleased. Card playing and sharing jokes during rehearsal were witnessed often. The casual atmosphere of the opera theater and among the orchestra players is probably the most foreign aspect to the modern musicians, even more foreign than the older instrument sound. This kind of relaxed casual mannerism was one of the frustrations Schumann faced in the rehearsals at Düsseldorf.[38]

Mendelssohn is a notable conductor who brought up a mediocre orchestra into one of the best in Germany. Under his direction, the orchestra of Leipzig became a leading concert-orchestra of Germany. Leipzig, unlike other cities, did not have a court or an opera theater. Instead, they used the church for performances and thus the orchestra naturally focused on symphonic repertoire as opposed to opera. Mendelssohn had an advantage over the other conductors who had many roles to fill, such as directing operas, church festivals, civic festival and concerts. Like Habeneck, he was able to focus on orchestral concerts and rehearsed the Leipzig orchestra with much patience.[39] The symphonic concert tradition set by the Leipzig orchestra was noted by other cities in Germany. One of the oldest members of the Leipzig was quoted in *Leipziger Tageblatt* of 1893, thus: "In the Gewandhaus we are wholly different people than in the theater; in black dress coat and standing erect at the desk, surrounded by the finely bedecked society in the hall, a different, higher

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[38] Michael Musgrave, *The Life of Schumann* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 148.
Daverio, *Herald,* 445.
[39] Carse, *Orchestra,* 138.

spirit dominated us."[40] Later half of the 19th century will bring about the different style and discipline of performing that separates from the orchestra as a mere accompanying medium to an entity which can speak for itself on a higher sphere, literally and figuratively.

France

Despite the fact that Berlin gleaned the best musicians of the country, it did not surpass the French orchestras for various reasons. France, after the Revolution in 1789, disposed of the royal band of Louis XVI and did not have a group of court musicians until Napoleon formed his own *Chapelle* eleven years later with 27 instrumentalists and 8 singers. There were exceptional players in Napoleon's orchestra and they were already or on their way to becoming professors of the Conservatoire. Habeneck, the director of the Conservatoire orchestra became the director of the orchestra concerts at Tuileries under the reign of Louis Phillipe.[41] This was a unique and important step in the development of French orchestral music because until this time, conductors wore many hats and their duties included conducting for all occasions, including the operas, dances, church festivals, etc. Besides conducting the Conservatoire orchestra, Habeneck was free from other duties that allowed him to devote more time in the rehearsals for each performance. This focused work made the French orchestra one of the best orchestras in Europe.

France was also known to have splendid opera houses. With four major opera theaters, *Opera, Opera Comique, Theatre Italien,* and *Societe des Concert,* these glamorous opera theaters hosted the best musicians of France, and they were

[40] Koury, *Orchestra,* 175.
[41] Ibid., 67-9.

monetarily supported by the courts and trained in the Conservatoire. John Ella wrote about the *Opera* orchestra in 1837, "The orchestra comprises about ninety of the best disciplined musicians in Paris, and although the band of the Conservatoire Concerts take precedence in point of numbers, yet for the execution of intricate music of the modern opera, Rossini and Meyerbeer tell me there is no rival in any theater in Europe."[42] It is no wonder France was the leading country for orchestral sound through their excelling woodwind development, competitive music education system, well-funded system for musicians, and attractive performance venues. France was conducive to music productivity and great as well as not so great music flourished.

England

Other neighboring countries' orchestras were not excluded from the slacked behavior during rehearsals and performance. England, a country known for their refined mannerism, found a way to lessen this problem. Richard Hoffman recollects of the concerts in Manchester in the 1830's and 1840 in his memoire, "The English orchestral players (except, of course, the cellos) always stood while they played; they were not allowed the privilege of sitting and crossing their legs in the listless manner which so often offends the eye in our modern performances…"[43] Only the orchestras of Habeneck in France and Costa in England have written documents of

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[42] Ibid., 81.
[43] Richard Hoffman, *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1910), 63-4, quoted on Daniel J. Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1981),175.

their disciplined orchestras. Their style of conducting was the first account of modern conducting and rehearsal technique, which brought forth cleaner and better performances. To their advantage, both Habeneck and Costa had good musicians to begin with. They also had a larger performance hall, which enabled them to add more musicians to their force. Combination of these factors allowed them to develop their orchestras into one of the best of their time.

Evolution of seating arrangement

The seating of the 19th century is an interesting subject that should be noted. As mentioned earlier in regards to the 18th century, many string players of this time still stood during performance and the seating arrangement vastly differed from one orchestra to another. The director and composer, often the same person, decided on the standing position depending on the piece. Daniel Koury's book, *The Orchestra in the Nineteenth Century: Physical Aspects of Its Performance Practice* has insightful information on the various seating arrangements of the 19th century orchestras. Observations of the seating charts show a different perspective through the evolution of the seating arrangement.[44]

Changes in instruments and instrumentalists

Another important factor for the orchestras was the difference in instruments. The practice of flexible instrumentation still continued in many parts

[44] Koury's book traces orchestra history through the seating plan of the instrumentalists from Baroque to his modern day ensembles. The book was first published as a dissertation in 1981. His study of the metamorphosis of orchestra has served as a vital tool in gaining insight to the study of Schumann symphonies.

of Europe. Also, the number of instrumentalists per ensemble varied from place to place. Many of the smaller town orchestras had musicians who learned several or more instruments, and they often substituted one player with another. When they were short of violists, they asked one of the weaker woodwind players to switch over to the viola. If an instrument was missing, another was employed. For national holidays or high feast days for church, the town band was called to join the orchestra to form a larger ensemble for outdoor performance to increase the volume.

Often the number of players depended on the size of the opera theater. Even Weber's orchestra in Dresden consisted of a mere 35 players due to the size of the hall.[45] A town with a small opera theater naturally had a smaller orchestra because that was the number that could comfortably fit in the hall. Mendelssohn's Gewandhaus had a humble number of a little below 50 and the picture of his orchestra illustrates their standing position that fit snuggly on their limited stage.[46] Oftentimes, the actual performers playing in an opera was significantly fewer than the names on the roster because it represents the maximum available players.[47]

The Düsseldorf Orchestra

Considering all the factors mentioned above, one can be sure that when Schumann moved to Düsseldorf, he did not have a well-trained orchestra at his disposal. Mendelssohn was the director of Düsseldorf orchestra from 1833 to1835,

[45] Carse, *Orchestra,* 121.
[46] Ibid., 136.
[47] John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra; History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 27.

and did not have good reports of this group. In his letter to Hiller he wrote, "I assure you that at the beat, they all come in separately, not one with any decision, and in the *pianos* the flute is always too high (sharp), and not a single Düsseldorfer can play a triplet clearly, but all play a quaver and two semiquavers instead…" and the list of his complaint goes on for a paragraph, with the conclusion that besides the trombones, double-basses and drums, everything else was "abominable."[48]

From Mendelssohn's departure from Düsseldorf to Schumann's arrival, two musicians took post at Düsseldorf: Julius Rietz from 1835 to 1847, and Hiller from 1847 to 1850. Rietz must have brought the musicians up to a higher level because Hiller's comment of the orchestra being different than that of Mendelssohn. He writes, "At the end of 1847, when I came to Düsseldorf as Director, I found the music there on quite a different footing from that which Mendelssohn had described. The twelve years' energy which Julius Rietz had devoted to it had not been in vain."[49]

From these letters and other recollections about the Düsseldorf orchestra, it is important to gather that the orchestra that Schumann had at his disposal played at a mediocre level and at best, they may have had a better discipline and work ethic than other orchestras in Germany. They were by no means the French Opera orchestra or even the Berlin or Dresden orchestra. This fact is important because Schumann did not write the Third Symphony for a virtuoso orchestra. He aimed for the synthesis of folk elements and high art for the success of this symphony. He certainly did not intend to write a brilliant score as did Berlioz or Ravel of the next French generation. It is Berlioz that brings the virtuosic solo playing into the

[48] Hiller, *Mendelssohn,* 47.
[49] Ibid., 50.

orchestra, bringing new techniques and demands to the orchestral playing. Schumann's compositional technique and style is vastly different from that of Berlioz and Wagner, as it will be discussed in a later chapter.

Despite the mediocre caliber of the Düsseldorf orchestra, the director's post was an excellent opportunity for Schumann to get hands-on experience with an orchestra. With his other orchestral compositions, he had his friends conduct them and he did not have a first-hand experience on working with a large ensemble. This is a factor that some scholars of the 20th century bring up to accuse Schumann of being a poor orchestrator and that he did not know what to do with these instruments. One concrete example that is commonly brought up is of his horn writing for the First Symphony. He first wrote it as B B B G A B, a third lower than the published version. When he brought this in, the natural horn was barely able to play these notes with the soft stopped sound and he was quickly embarrassed.[50] This is very much understandable since various different types of horns were being used during this time. Schumann humbly admitted to Mendelssohn who suggested a better solution, that for the valve horn the original passage would not have been a problem.

It is true that Schumann did not have experience with the orchestra, as did Mendelssohn, or the composers of the past century. Bach, Handel, Haydn, and Mozart were all composers who had an ensemble at their disposal. They composed and conducted their own pieces, which allowed them to make necessary changes and write specifically for their ensemble. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the

[50]Karl Storck, selected and ed., *The Letters of Robert Schumann,* trans. Hannah Bryant (London: John Murray, 1907), 249.

separate entities of a conductor and composer of the modern day was not so in the times of Mozart and Beethoven. Even until the 19th century, many composers held a position as the conductor and directed their own pieces, Meyerbeer and Spontini being a good example. It is recorded that for their own compositions, they brought in extra players to achieve a more brilliant and impressive sound.[51] Schumann did not have this luxury for the first three of his symphonies and even of the last chronological symphony, the Third, when he had an orchestra under his direction. Adding players or making the parts more brilliant was not an option because of the limited number of musicians and their second rate level, along with the size of the hall. Furthermore, showing off the brilliant virtuoso orchestra was not his agenda, as it will be discussed later in the analysis chapter.

Some composers of the 20th and 21st century also testify that had it not been for their hands-on experience with an orchestra, they would not have been able to write their works.[52] When Schumann wrote his symphonies, he worked with what he knew; the German orchestra of this time. He was well aware of the sound of his contemporary orchestra. Schumann had attended rehearsals and concerts of other conductors and gleaned what he liked and opposed what he did not like. He was well aware of the ever-changing nature of the early 19th century orchestras therefore it is only natural that his symphonies went through many revisions.

From looking at the style of conducting during this time, especially in Germany, it makes sense that Mendelssohn was one of the few conductors who had

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[51] Carse, *Orchestra,* 110.
[52] Jean Vermeil, *Conversations with Boulez; Thoughts on Conducting,* trans. Camille Naish (Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1989).

success in performing Schumann's orchestral work. This is mainly due to the nature of the Leipzig orchestra, which was accustomed to playing symphonies, and its superior conductor, Mendelssohn, who had the patience to rehearse the orchestra in detail. It is recorded that Mendelssohn was one of the first pioneers of the modern style of conducting along with Habeneck and Costa as an interpretive conductor using a baton to express music, not merely beating time. They also took full charge of the orchestra and eliminated the work of the Kapellmeister. Mendelssohn's orchestra did not have two leaders, the time beating conductor and a concertmaster leading the orchestra. Mendelssohn alone took full charge of the music making and held the authoritative baton for the ensemble.

Conductors and their role

Until Schumann's time, conductors were commonly behind the keyboard, or at the seat of the first violin. Even when Mendelssohn conducted in London in 1829, the first violinist Francois Cramer led him to the keyboard "like a young lady" and he conducted from the piano even though he did not play a single note during the whole concert.[53] This 18th century custom of conducting from the piano did not fully disappear even until the middle of the 19th century. Beethoven, when he conducted the Ninth Symphony, sat and sometimes stood, facing the audience.[54] The violins were standing on both sides of the conductor, and the winds and the brass were seated behind the conductor. The chorus was placed in front of the violins. This is a

[53] Sebastien Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family, 1729-1847; From Letters and Journals, Vol. 1,* trans. Carl Klingemann (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882),185.
[54] Koury, *Orchestra,* 161.

drastically different picture than the modern concert hall with stadium seating of the wind musicians with strings neatly seated and a conductor facing the orchestra with the audience to his or her back.

Schumann was present at Mendelssohn's rehearsal using the baton with the Gewandhaus Orchestra in 1835. On this account Schuman wrote, "… the orchestra in a symphony should stand like a republic which recognizes no sovereign. And yet it was delightful to watch Meritis (Mendelssohn's "Davidite" nickname) as his eye anticipated, in every nuance, the undulations of the composition, from the most delicate to the most powerful, and swam, like a blessed spirit, ahead of the whole, whereas from time to time one encounters conductors who seem to threaten to beat the score, as well as the orchestra and the public, with a scepter!"[55] It is clear that Schumann was objecting to the idea of holding a roll of paper with the orchestra on the backside of the conductor merely to beat time, which was a custom that remained until later in the century. A few others such as Liszt and Spohr followed his style of standing side ways when conducting, having their back towards the second violins. It was certainly not the norm to show the backside to the audience for any performer during this time.[56] Perhaps it is due to the different rules of this time that Schumann held different opinions on conducting. Regardless, fifteen years prior to his own leading of the Düsseldorf orchestra, Schumann did not agree with the idea that the conductor should solely lead the ensemble. He recalls of the Gewandhaus concert, "Our musicians form a family; they see one another and practice together daily; the ensemble is always the same, hence they are able to play

[55] Schumann, *On Music and Musician,* 219.
[56] Koury, *Orchestra,* 161.

a Beethoven symphony without notes. Add to these a concertmaster who can conduct such scores from memory, a director who equally knows them inside out, and the wreath is complete…"[57] The common practice that is taken for granted in the next century is only a wishful thought for orchestras during Schumann's time.

Schumann's belief in the independent inner strength of the orchestra sheds a new light on the performance of his symphony, and that he had chamber ensemble playing in mind when writing for the orchestra. As was with the master composers of the previous century, he believed in the inner organic workings amongst the players of the ensemble. The development of conducting technique became necessary in the mid 1800's because orchestral music was becoming more complex in its texture and the style of playing more virtuosic.

It is interesting to note that Schumann was a composer who used the gems of the classicism, form and balance, to create the new romantic era. It is his instrument that kept changing. For composers to promote their work, they need an instrument and up until the romantic era, composers had access to their own ensemble or instrument. Liszt wrote for piano, Paganini for violin, Quantz for flute, and Weber for orchestra. What about Schumann's instrument? His intention was not to only write for the Düsseldorfers but to create his own sound through the medium of orchestra. Furthermore, his previous symphonies were not intended for a particular orchestra. Schumann revised the D Minor Symphony over the span of ten years after its premier, perhaps to match the constant changing of the orchestra. He did not have an orchestra at the time of his symphonic compositions, except when he wrote

[57] Schumann, *Music,* 226.

the *Rhenish*. He wrote for the general orchestra sound of Germany, which as we saw, varied from one city to another in its sound and caliber.

As mentioned earlier, the Third Symphony had a great premier in Düsseldorf under the direction of Schumann, but a poor one in Köln due to missing parts and lack of proper rehearsal. The change in his instrument, the orchestra, is one of the most important factors to consider when reviewing the reception of Schumann's symphonies.

Chapter 3: Orchestra from 1850 to Present

Orchestra since Schumann's time

To understand the reception and performance of Schumann's work after his death, it is important to observe and imagine the sounds of the 19th century and beyond. The early 1800's were a confusing time for the music world. There was Beethoven who made a grand appearance with his 9th and shook the Western European world. This ideal "romantic" composer, who lost his hearing but conducted the symphony with his whole body, was an astounding change to the audience and the orchestral musicians alike. The rise of virtuosos and their solo concerts quickly became popular throughout Europe. From orchestral instrument to voice, the demand for solo superstars was great to the extent of fanaticism. Concerts were played almost every night of the week all over the continent. The number of orchestras grew as well. Philharmonics and other musical organizations were formed to promote various genres of music in addition to opera. What was at first a club for the rich minorities became open to the general public with the rise of the middle class. Truly the Romantic era was the logical next step after the Age of Enlightenment, and doors opened for all possibilities for the musical world.

Music took various directions. For the orchestra there were two competing directions, one led by Berlioz and his school, versus Brahms and his contemporaries. On Berlioz's side, there was Wagner who was expanding the opera into a gigantic force and into another world, literally. Liszt was also a forerunner with his symphonic tone poems in place of the traditional sonata form. Berlioz, Wagner and Liszt had a great impact on the orchestra and they created a new sound for the

virtuosic orchestra. Just as the instruments themselves became louder, brighter in tone and higher in pitch, so did the orchestral sound throughout Europe. Berlioz in his *Treatise on Instrumentation* explained of this change in sound and his philosophy for the ideal way of playing the instruments, style of performance, number of forces needed, and conducting technique. His *Treatise* notes a clear demarcation of the new era for the orchestra.[1]

Expansion in size

Even as early as 1784, the orchestra had its share of enlargement. For example, a massive production of Handel's work during a Handel festival in Westminster Abbey employed 6 flutes, 26 oboes, 26 bassoons, 157 strings and 30 brass. [2] However, it was not the normal practice of the day, and certainly not all throughout Europe. As discussed in the previous chapter, there was no standard size for the orchestra even in the mid 1800's. Much of it depended on the amount of money the city had to spend for the theater and opera, and on the availability of musicians in that town. Some cities that were funded by the court had a secure, steady membership in the orchestra. Those who were not as fortunate had to rely on amateur musicians who were barely trained, and they often needed to form ad hoc ensembles to fill in the gaps.

The growth of the middle class contributed to the growth of the amateur chorus as well as the orchestra. Common people wanted to learn to read music and

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[1] Hector Berlioz and Richard Strauss, *Treatise on Instrumentation* (New York: Dover 1991).
[2] Paul Bekker, *The Story of the Orchestra* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1936), 29-30.

play the piano for their own enjoyment. People joined various musical societies, whether it be orchestra or choir. Chamber music also sprang forth as a popular form of entertainment at home. Salon style concerts took place all over Europe. This general rise of interest in music brought a venue for business and the ticket sales of concerts and opera helped to pay for the salaries of orchestra musicians. As money was flowing and the music industry saw a steep growth, more people started to take interest in musical training and took up music as a profession. By the end of the 19th century, there were many notable conservatories taught by famous teachers.

The gradual growth of the orchestra can be traced by the formation of a new entity called the Philharmonic. The Philharmonic, which is an organization made up of musicians and music lovers, decided on the orchestra's director and other aspects of the institution. As common citizens took part in every aspect of music making from the actual music to logistics, the music industry blossomed. Leipzig is a great example of a city that grew around music. It had a humble hall that was not adequate for the new growing orchestra so the town council gave permission to remodel the guildhall of the clothing merchants and this place became the central meeting place for the Philharmonic. Along with an active orchestra, Leipzig had a music publishing house, Breitkopf & Härtel, founded in 1719. The Leipzig orchestra had one of the leading conductors of that time, Mendelssohn, who painstakingly rehearsed the ensemble, developing it into one of the best in the nation. To nurture the musicians, the Leipzig conservatory opened its door in 1843. Leipzig had everything that an orchestra needed for it to grow and other surrounding cities

followed after its model.[3] As the demand for the virtuosic orchestra grew, the orchestra became a moneymaking industry. Philharmonics opened their doors to the middle class. Upper class music lovers continued to actively fund the orchestra institution and participated in music making, standing side by side with the middle and lower class citizens. The orchestra and its performance hall became a stimulating source for the growth of the city.

Expansion of concert halls

The lack of concert halls was a problem. The ones that existed were built for operas and were not ideal for orchestra concerts. Opera theaters did not provide enough space for a large orchestra, and their acoustics were not desirable. Up until this time, large concerts were mostly held in large hotels or churches. Lovers of orchestra music sought bigger and better halls to accommodate growing orchestras and audiences. One of the main reasons for the advancement of music in Paris was its Conservatoire and its large concert hall that permitted larger scale concerts. The Conservatoire concert hall had a stage large enough to hold over one hundred players, which Berlioz used for *Symphonie Fantastique* in 1830.[4] Wagner in his later years built his dream opera house, *Bayreuther Festspielhaus*, with the help of King Ludwig II of Bavaria. Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* was the first piece to be performed there and saw its premier in 1876. This unique opera house was the first of its kind with 1925 seats and a stage that was equally as large as the audience

[3] D. Kern Holoman, *The Orchestra: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 7.
[4] D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 134.

space to hold the grand drama of Wagner's opera. Composers and musicians continued their quest to build more halls that would be appropriate for the developed modern instrument and ensembles.

Large cities with active musical activities began to raise funds or find donors that would help to build larger halls that could hold an audience of over two thousand individuals. The Vienna Grosser Musikvereinssaal's hall was built in 1870, Amsterdam Concertgebouw finished its hall in 1888. Carnegie Hall in New York was built around this time in 1891, which prompted other famous halls in the United States, such as the Boston Symphony Hall and Chicago Symphony Hall which followed within the next decade.[5] The orchestras in the late 19th century had a home to play their modern instruments in larger forces that was demanded by repertoire and audience.

Performance style

The style of playing from the mid to late 19th century underwent a revolution. Although the string instruments did not see much change in the instrument body since the 18th century, the sound and style of playing changed drastically. Mozart and his predecessors played the violin using vibrato only on certain notes added as an ornament.[6] Due to the outward arching of the bow so naturally, short phrases were more common because the concave bow was not able to sustain long notes. Composers of the classical time used this shorter bow technique to their advantage

[5] Holoman, *Orchestra*, 32.
[6] Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), 203-4.

and enjoyed the lush, airy sound of the strings by moving the bow fast on the strings which highlighted their short phrases. Also, the left hand rarely had to go to high positions, and when required, seldom moved beyond the fourth position. With the invention of the Tourte bow by the French bow maker, François Tourte, coupled with the improved strings with metal coiling, the string instruments were able to play much louder and produce longer lines. These changes also allowed for more techniques, such as playing off the strings, staccatos in one bow, and ricochet. The longer neck of the violin allowed the musicians to play higher positions. [7] Whereas vibrato was used as an ornament, more performers adapted to the continuous usage of vibrato in violin. There were some conductors who thought this was distasteful and required the players to play in the older style with less vibrato, but by the mid 20th century, the usage of full vibrato became standard in the orchestral string playing. There are different views as to when full vibrato became the norm. Although it is now common to play Wagner and Brahms with full continuous vibrato, some challenge this idea stating that full vibrato was not a standard way of performance even in the 20th century, with Roger Norrington being a strong leader of this group.[8, 9] A few more techniques such as *ponticello, col legno, and pizzicato* became regular in the modern style of string playing.

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[7] Peter Walls, *History, Imagination, and the Performance of Music* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2003). Walls gives an insightful comparison between Bach's concave bow and the modern Tourte bow, particularly in Chapter 2.
[8] Sudip Bose, "Vibrato Wars," *The American Scholar,* March 1, 2009, accessed January 28, 2014, http://theamericanscholar.org/vibrato-wars/#.UvANrxa8_dk.
[9] Nicholas Wroe, "Speed It Up," *The Guardian,* accessed January, 28, 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/books/2007/jul/21/music.

As for the woodwinds and brass, there were no standard instruments even in the late 19th century. Berlioz thought the new flute was obviously superior in its intonation and efficiency in playing and he had no doubt "they will displace the old wood-wind instruments within a few years."[10] However some countries, such as Germany preferred the older model and continued to use it, even though it was in Germany that the Boehm flute was invented.[11] Oboe and bassoon, although still imperfect in their intonation, expanded their range and the newer instrument allowed for more in-tune chromatic notes.[12] The English horn appeared in several symphonies as an added color. Clarinetists were mastering beautiful tones on the newer clarinets and the Boehm clarinet became popular throughout Europe. Interestingly, though, some people still preferred the older instruments for their simplicity, timbre, or affordability in price.[13] It took many years for the newer version of the woodwinds to become permanent members the modern orchestra. Wind players experimented with vibrato in their playing and this technique became popular among famous players.

Among all the instruments, valved horns had the most controversy and did not completely win over the natural horns until the very late 1800's. The Leipzig orchestra is noted as one of the later orchestras to adapt the new valve horns.[14] Notable composers such as Wagner were torn between the old and "modern" instruments. On Wagner's horn part even as late as the 1800's, he indicated which

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[10] Berlioz, *Treatise,* 227.
[11] Carse, *Orchestra,* 405.
[12] Ibid., 402-3.
[13] Carse, *Musical,* 165.
[14] Koury, *Orchestra,* 94.

part should be played by the natural horn, as he preferred its unique, softer timbre for certain parts.[15]

The unified sound of the brass and its louder timbre allowed composers to create a massive orchestral sound often doubling parts. Mahler and Bruckner were known for their usage of larger brass and wind sections. To match the ratio, the strings grew in number naturally. The brightness of woodwind sound and their extended range, combined with the increased volume of the strings allowed the brass section to play in their full, unified tone.

By the mid 20th century, different orchestras built their reputations by specializing in a certain repertoire or sound. Some, like the Berlin Philharmonic, became famous for their exceptional brass and full vibrato of the string section. The Vienna Philharmonic owns many of the instruments its players use, keeping the traditional sound "pure" and unchanged by the sound of the newer instruments. Newly built or renovated concert halls had better acoustics and showcased the sound of these modern orchestras that played the new repertoire. The modern orchestra was at its full bloom at the turn of the century and the new generation of musicians was expected to not only match, but also surpass the previous generation's enormous sound.

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[15] John Ericson, ""J. R. Lewy and Early Works of Wagner," *The Horn Call Annual 9*, accessed January 28, 2014, http://www.public.asu.edu/~jqerics/lewya.htm. In this article, John Ericson brings out Wagner's specific notations on whether to use natural or valved horns using *Der fliegende Höllander* as an example.

Schumann moving on to the 20th century

All of the above innovations affected the performance practice of Schumann symphonies. His music took a different course after his death, for the obvious reason that he was not present to monitor the production of his music. It also did not help that he didn't leave a treatise for his music as did Berlioz or Wagner. Another complicating factor was that the war between absolute music and program music was at its peak during the turn of the 20th century and for the orchestra, the winning sides were the descendants of Berlioz's all encompassing orchestra, those of Wagner, Liszt and Verdi. This brought a new style of performance for Schumann's symphonies.

Schumann's music moved on to the next generation after his death by performers and composers who were fond of his music and the symphonies were played in private and in public. The leading promoters of his music in the late 19th century were Brahms and his contemporaries who were against the New German School, which believed that music should encompass and express the world and used other means of expression in conjunction to "help" the expression of music, such as drama or written program. Schumann, Brahms, Reinecke, Joachim, Bruch and a handful of others were strong opponents of the New German School and wrote music to speak for itself, to be absolute on its own without extra-musical materials.

It was a very fortunate thing that Schumann met good musicians and friends along his tour of Europe and Russia. Musicians such as Louis Ehlert, Erkel Herbeck,

Eduard Langer, L'vov, Smetana and others were on his side of the musical war.[16] He also had internationally acclaimed performers such as Hiller, Joachim, Lind, Rubinstein, Stockhausen and of course, his wife Clara Schumann who actively promoted his music.[17] There were journalists who were proponents of the tradition of absolute music, supporting Schumann's music.

The dividing line between absolute and program music was not always clear as some musicians embraced and synthesized both. Liszt, the forerunner of symphonic poem, promoted Schuman's music in his late years and performed his music and transcribed several of his pieces. Mahler, one of Wagner's main promoters, made debuts as a pianist with Schumann's piano and chamber pieces early in his career. Bruckner was often mistaken for the New German School, but he embraced the form and ideals of the absolute music in his symphonies. Schumann himself had mixed opinions about Wagner. Schumann wrote on Wagner's *Tannhäuser,* "Wagner—though certainly a brilliant fellow and full of original, audacious ideas—can hardly set down (and think out) a four-measure phrase beautifully or even correctly…", yet eight years later in 1853, "He lacks all sense of form and of euphony. But you should not judge him from his piano scores. Many passages of his operas, once heard from the stage, cannot but prove exciting..."[18] Wagner, on the other hand, remained fiercely opposed to any hint of absolute music all throughout his life and according to Humperdinck, remarked on his personal

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[16] Reinhard Kapp, "Schumann in His Time and Since," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann,* ed. Beate Perrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 234.
[17] Ibid., 234.
[18] Schumann, *Music,* 250-1.

relations with Schumann as "Justice impossible, odious stickwagger,"[19] putting a stamp on his definite position against any trace of his music.

Although Wagner and Verdi were born only three years after the birth of Schumann, they both outlived him by 27 and 45 years, respectively. Brahms carried the load on the side of absolute music until his death in 1897, but the orchestra took on a metamorphosis on sound and structure to accommodate the massive orchestra of Wagner and his followers. There were still some places, such as the Leipzig Conservatory, that were not in favor of the New German music and it became a famous place to hear the music of Mendelssohn and Schumann, but it was in the minority.[20] Most of the orchestras in Western Europe and the United States took on the form of the massive orchestra because that was the popular sound that many composers and conductors wanted.

Living composers had an enormous instrument at their disposal and the popular rising composer with great charisma on stage at the turn of the century was Gustav Mahler. An obvious but often neglected fact is that when a composer dies, his work is up to the living performers to be carried out or dismissed. Schumann certainly wasn't dismissed, but he was left in the hands of the admirers of his music who were heavily influenced by the sound of Wagner. Mahler made a great career as a leading interpreter of Wagner's music and composed symphonies of his own with the modern massive orchestra. He believed music should express the world and, therefore, the orchestra must be large in its dynamics, instrumentation, range, and number of forces used.

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[19] Kapp, *Schumann,* 235.
[20] Ibid., 236.

Role of conductor

As composers were creating new music for enormous orchestra, conductors executed these works with absolute authority, and meticulous care was given to each rehearsal. The level of technical difficulty added on to the demand for more rehearsal time and methodology in execution. In the previous century, conductors often performed a symphony with usually one rehearsal. Habeneck was a rare conductor who held five rehearsals for his concerts to work with the Paris Orchestra. He was also infamous for being demanding of his players, yet also famous for bringing difficult repertoire to a new level of excellence. Wagner, as a young man having witnessed Habeneck on the podium, recounts his experience of the Paris Orchestra, "Whilst rehearsing the symphony, during an entire winter season, he had felt it to be incomprehensible and ineffective… but he persisted throughout a second and a third season! until Beethoven's new *melos* [melody in all its aspects] was understood and correctly rendered by each member of the orchestra… everyone obeyed him."[21] Wagner, following this lesson, led fierce rehearsals. As recalled by Hueffer, "He [Wagner] storms, hisses, stamps his foot on the ground and performs the most wonderful gyratory movements with his arms; and woe to the wretch who wounds his keen ear with a false note."[22] It was Habeneck, along with other conductors like Wagner who paved the way for the new style and authority of conducting for the next century.

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[21] Richard Wagner, *Wagner on Conducting,* trans. Edward Dannreuther (New York: Dover, 1989), 15.
[22] Francis Hueffer, "Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future," in *A History of Orchestral Conducting,* ed. Elliott W. Galkin (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874), 567.

Often it was the composers who directed the orchestra for their own works, mixed in with other repertoire in a concert. Mozart earned his fame as a pianist and wrote music to play on his tours. Most likely the piano concerti were performed by him as the soloist while directing the orchestra from the keyboard. Even his symphonies he directed either from the keyboard or the first violin chair. This tradition of composer-conductor was active in the 1800's where the opera composers were directing their own operas and hired by cities on the basis of the popularity of their work, as were Meyerbeer and Spohr. Not long after the premier of the *Rhenish*, Schumann was invited by Ferdinand Hiller to conduct this symphony.[23] Although he often had other people conduct his symphony, he received invitations to conduct his own pieces.[24] Schumann's injured hand prevented him from promoting his own piano pieces, but to his fortune he married the leading pianist of his time who gave tours with his piano pieces. Throughout his life, he befriended good composers and musicians who performed his pieces.

Reorchestration

The tradition of composers directing their own pieces ensured pieces to receive their proper performance with a realization of the composer's intention during Schumann's time. Journalists and musicians wrote reviews of these performances to "hand down" the composer's intention of performance practice. Students of these composer-performers also learned the tradition from the masters. Although Schumann toured with his symphonies and left traces of his performance

[23] Roesner, *New Edition,* 189.
[24] Ibid., 194, 195.

style, when he passed away it was left for the pupils and admirers of Schumann to carry the load of maintaining the tradition. Among his many admirers was Mahler, who was annoyed at Wagner and other's pejorative attitude toward Schumann symphonies. La Grange in his biography of Mahler wrote, "Mahler spoke about Schumann's 'marvelous' symphonies. He was astonished that Wagner had not understood and admired them. Perhaps he (Wagner) had heard a bad 'incomprehensible' performance that had given him the wrong impression. In any case, he had caused a lot of harm by influencing his sheep-like disciples who thus felt free to despise Schumann."[25] It was in his attempt to bring justice to Schumann symphonies that Mahler re-orchestrated the work to better suit the new modern orchestra.

Re-orchestrating or re-working a piece from another composer was not a foreign idea in the past. When Mendelssohn revived Bach's St. Matthew Passion, he made cuts to make it suitable for his concert audience. Handel's famous oratorio, *Messiah,* saw many revisions by conductors. Often re-working a piece showed their admiration for the past work with the performer's sincere motive to revive an older piece for the current audience.

However, 20th century conductors had more on their agenda when re-orchestrating a work. The conductors of the new century were not necessarily prolific composers and therefore held authority over other people's work more than theirs. Their success was upon the delivery of other people's music. This opened the door for conductors to put their own stamp on the piece, with what may have been

[25] Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Mahler* Vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1973), 499.

the best of intentions of bringing the best from an older piece. The notion of re-orchestration will be discussed more in detail in the next chapter.

The rise of the "dictatorial" conductor was a result of many factors at the turn of the century. As orchestras began to gain more interest, attention was drawn to conductors who brought the orchestra to a higher level of virtuosity, such as Habeneck, Costa and Mendelssohn. People noticed that different conductors brought forth different results from the orchestra. These conductors used a different method of conducting; they were not all unified, and certainly they abandoned the older style of merely beating the time with a paper scroll or violin bow. These rising conductors expressed their desired tempo, dynamics, musical phrasings through gestures and they used whatever means to get the result, whether it be moving swaying their body, repeating one passage over a dozen times, shouting, calling for more rehearsals, or bringing the musicians to their room to hear them play individually.

Conductors of the early 20th century used their own musical intuition to get the players to play according to their personal interpretation of the piece. Conductors had preferences for certain composers and chose to specialize in certain composers of their taste. They wrote books about the composers and on conducting techniques. Whereas in the previous generations conducting was done as a necessity to keep the rhythm together, the new generation of conductors were interpretive conductors who conveyed their own personal musical ideas through gesture. This was not totally a new idea, as mentioned before on Beethoven of how he showed dynamics and structural climax through body gestures. This was not the

normal practice before the late Romantic era and the general concert halls did not have conductors who led with passion and strong musical ideas, unless it was the composers themselves. The new style in conducting brought different sounds from the orchestras due to the strength and weaknesses of various conductors, and orchestras saw this change as a new way to sell tickets. The quick rise of charismatic conductors gave those on post an almost absolute authority.

Recordings

Another major factor in the rise of popularity in conductors was the invention of recorded sound. When sound recording was at its genesis, great minds such as Fred Gaisberg of the new EMI in London, seized on this golden venue by recording famous performers and conductors. Before the outbreak of WWII, he managed to record Szell, Casals, and Bruno Walter conducting Mahler's ninth at the Vereinssaal, just before the Anschluss in March of 1938.[26] Other recording companies, RCA and Columbia joined the competition of who would record the most famous players, the best ensembles, and most of all, the best sound quality in the best format. By the mid-20th century, the recording industry was blooming and many notable performances and musicians were "sealed" in their sound by having it on an LP, and the orchestra music and sound was now permanently capsulated for the following generations.

As noted, there were two ways in which the orchestra sound of the early 1900's was capsulated: reorchestrations that portrayed older compositions in the

[26] Holoman, *Orchestra,* 104.

style of the new orchestra, and the actual sound recordings on RPM's. The prime example that shows the canonization of the former century's sound is that of Furtwangler. Furtwangler was a champion of bringing out the long harmonic structure and expressiveness in his conducting. Not only did the musicians enjoy playing under his leadership, but also the public admired him for his music and delivery of their pride, German music. He was famous for reworking the older masterpieces such as making his own changes to the Beethoven symphonies. An absolute authority of music in Germany and very influential throughout the world, Furtwängler's fame and reputation as a conductor surpassed anyone in the 1800's, that even the Nazi party yielded to many of his wishes and kept him in the state despite his objection to their principles.[27]

Other notable conductors left a large discography to be in the permanent collection of "romantic" orchestra sound. Walter, Klemperer, and Toscanini recorded throughout their career with the sound of the luscious romantic orchestra on Romantic repertoire. The only problem was that Schumann's instrument was vastly different from the ones at their disposal, yet the ones making decisions was the conductor because the composer was long gone. The unprecedented power and authority by the musical world of this era gave them license to make changes and adaptation to the new orchestra over the orchestra and repertoire. For the most part, they were able to hire the instrumentalists of their choice, as many as they needed, rehearse as long as they wished, choose which pieces to perform, and

[27] There are numerous sources available on Furtwängler and his stance on the Nazi. His official website has reposted testimonies from various artists on him on his defense. See http://www.furtwangler.net/inmemoriam/data/nyt_en.htm.

execute those pieces according to their personal interpretation. Under their guidance the first recordings of the old masterpieces were made, and their scores with markings and re-orchestrations remain in our libraries as sacred relics. Under the hands of the "romantic" conductors, Schumann's compositions lost the sound of their initial creation and became a synthesis of Schumann and whoever was the conductor.

Chapter 4: Analysis

David Kopp's Approach to Tonality in Schumann

In *Essays in Musical Analysis* published in 1935, Donald Francis Tovey wrote of Schumann's first symphony, "Schumann cannot develop an idea, he can only make sequences of it." Tovey went on to write, "It is quite true that Schumann's treatment of large forms is no model for students," and of his orchestration he states, "tragedy was latent in it from the outset, and became manifest in his pitiful failure as a conductor." As discussed before, his accomplishment, or the lack thereof, as a conductor shows no diminution as an orchestral composer because it was the custom of his time for the composers to conduct their pieces. Schumann was a composer in every sense and not a performer, also in every sense. Due to his hand injury, he could not perform his piano pieces. Had it not been for his celebrity wife, it would have been difficult for him to promote his piano works as quickly and widespread as he did during his time. As for the orchestra, he had to rely on other people's orchestras and the one that he finally got at his hand towards the end of his life was only a mediocre one and their poor caliber could not do justice to his symphonies.

As for the repetitive sequences and simple form, Tovey's and other critics' negative view stemmed from the misunderstanding of Schumann's tonality and musical characteristics. Performers who played the symphonies in the style of the late Romantic have given the false expectation that Schumann must hold a similar style of creating a musical narrative through form and harmonic progressions for that form. Understanding Schumann's music in light of his intermediate stages of

tonality is not only important but an absolute necessity because this quality of "continuum" will determine the tempo, tone quality, phrasing, concept of form, and every other nuance of the performance.

In the article, *Intermediate States of Key in Schumann,* published not long ago in 2011, David Kopp's interpretation of Schumann's key relations and tonality hit the core of Schumann's music. He argues that instead of ambiguity, Schumann's tonality can be understood as a "continuum". He writes, "what if we were to think of the path from one node to another not as a binary switch from one tonic state to another, but as a continuum? . . . Thus music could, at times, be understood to be at some specific position *between* keys rather than in them."[1] Kopp uses *Im wonderschonen Monat Mai,* String Quartet, Op. 41, no. 2, Movement 1 and *Kreisleriana* No. 4 as examples to prove what he calls "a softening of the hierarchical boundaries between chord and key"[2] Referring to a passage in *Kreisleriana* No. 4 of secondary dominant chain, Kopp explains, "All of the phrases begin and end inconclusively on different inversions of the same dominant chord; after each phrase the music always moves 'deceptively' to another dominant chord, which initiates a similar quasi-sequential process."[3]

Although many of Schumann's compositions have clear key and chord usages as Weber and other theorists understood and presented, one of the main characteristics of Schumann's music lies in the mercurial temperament, the quick changes from the calm "Eusebius" character to the robust and passionate

[1] David Kopp, "Intermediate States of Key in Schumann," in *Rethinking Schumann,* ed. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 312.
[2] Ibid., 318.
[3] Ibid., 318.

"Florestan" emotion. His piano character pieces have been championed since their initial publication because they were segmented into short pieces to make a substantial piece, and these opposing musical gestures were portrayed without any filtering. For his larger scale works he uses different mediums, such as a larger form in comparison to the individual character piece movements, yet the core of the mercurial quality remains the same. This chapter will seek to look closely at the Third Symphony of Schumann itself to understand Schumann's musical language by observing the score to make practical implications particularly for conductors who carry the weight of making or breaking Schumann's symphonic reputation. I will bring out examples from the symphony to prove that the orchestra must perform in the same manner as his songs and piano pieces with vibrancy and spirited temperament. I will give practical suggestions of the analytical findings to build a bridge for the modern conductors to look at Schumann symphonies, not as the previous generation has done in light of the post-Wagnerian ears, but afresh as Schumann's contemporaries would have enjoyed.

The common Schumann "signature" sounds and their implications

Form

Schumann often uses simple forms in his compositions. His harmonies take off to convey the emotional and psychological state, not the structure itself, as is the case for Beethoven. Beethoven takes a small building block, a motif, and builds a monument to convey the thought. It is the form that makes Beethoven's compositions and the form supports the sonorities of Beethoven symphonies. Not so

for Schumann. Schumann is content with his beautiful songs and his emotions are conveyed through the harmonic movements and the changes of colors in the melodies through these changes.

Three of Schumann symphonies follow the previous century's form of slow introduction proceeded by a fast first movement, slow second movement, scherzo or minuet third movement, and a fast finale. The Third Symphony is different in that it has five movements, similar to Beethoven's *Pastorale*, but unlike the *Pastorale*, the *Rhenish* is not programmatic (although the fourth movement hints at a program narrative) and the forms are kept simple. It also uses traditional classical forms and the first movement is in a simple sonata form. Its theme is lively and transitions rough, and more will be discussed later in the section that deals with tonality. The second movement of the *Rhenish* is a minuet and trio, but instead of a minuet, it is a Ländler. The third movement is in an aria form. The beautiful melody is woven through various keys without any dramatic change in texture or tonality. The form is kept simple to make the subtle harmonic shift as the focal point. There is also no thematic development as it would take away from the harmonic continuum as Kopp described. George Grove wrote in 1909 in a review of this slow movement as "a short *Andante*, … spirit of a 'Song without words'.[4] The fourth movement is hailed even by one of Schumann's greatest opponents, Tovey, as "one of the finest pieces of ecclesiastical polyphony since Bach."[5] The finale is a joyful dance with four different tunes. It does not need to develop, because the music enjoys quick change to the

[4] George Grove, "Schumann's Symphony in E Flat. The Rhenish, Op 97," *The Musical Times, Vol. 50, No. 802* (December 1, 1909): 790.
[5] Tovey, *Essay,* 55.

next theme with some sort of reminiscences of the previous themes. The finale ties in the themes from previous movements, giving it a thematic continuity as well. The coda brings back the imitation accompaniment from the fourth movement and ends triumphantly with a stretto.

It is for specific purpose that the forms were kept simple. Schumann's melodies were not created to go through developments like Beethoven's or transformations as Berlioz's symphonies. The emotional drama of the Third Symphony lies in its mercurial tonality and the unique textures that support the vibrant harmonic language.

Tonality

The entire symphony hovers around the E flat central key, and Schumann uses the third relation from E flat to tie the movements together. The tonal center for the movements are, respectively: Eb, C, Ab, Eb, Eb. All keys are closely related to one another. This is very common in Schumann's song collections and certainly in the piano character pieces. In his *Dichterliebe,* the tonal center for the songs are: f# or A, A, D, G, Eb*, g*, b, e, C, a, d, g, Eb, Bb, g*, Eb*, eb, B, E, c#/Db[6] One can almost trace the circle of fifth and its related minors in the cycle. Schumann's Op. 15 *Kinderszenen* has the following key sequences: G, D, b, D, D, A, F, F, C, g#, G, e, G. Both pieces are a clear evidence of the diatonic key relations in his collections. When it is not diatonic, it is related in a chromatic movement. Neumeyer makes the claim that

[6] David Neumeyer, "Organic Structure and the Song Cycle: Another Look at Schumann's Dichterliebe," in *Music Theory Spectrum, Vol. 4* (Spring, 1982): 95, accessed January 30, 2014, doi: 10.2307/746012.
(*These songs were in the original version but deleted before the publication)

Schumann's song cycles have organic structure in that the keys are diatonically or chromatically related, and that his thought process is linked to one another as the keys are related. This is not the case of Schubert who wrote freely with the connecting link to the psychology of the poetry rather than the tonal keys.[7]

Schumann's signature modulation holds the third movement together and also becomes the core of the musical character of that movement. Schumann often uses the common tone modulation to move to the major third below the root. In *Widmung*, the outer sections are in A flat major and the middle section is in E major, a chromatic third away from the original tonic (Example 1.1). This is done by the enharmonic A flat to G sharp movement. There is no prompting before the change, but a sudden insistence of the new sound. This creates a tonal color change along with the textural change from arpeggiated eighth notes to repeated triplet chords. Schumann does the same tonal shift more discretely in *Humoresque* from B flat major to G flat major, again, without any prompting. (Example 1.2) Another B flat to G flat modulation can be found in the Piano Quintet first movement in measure 36. (Example 1.3) The Piano Quartet slow movement also has the B flat to G flat modulation in measure 48. This time, all instruments play a descending chromatic note to lead in to the next key. (Example 1.4) In most cases, Schumann's modulations are done abruptly without leading secondary chords.

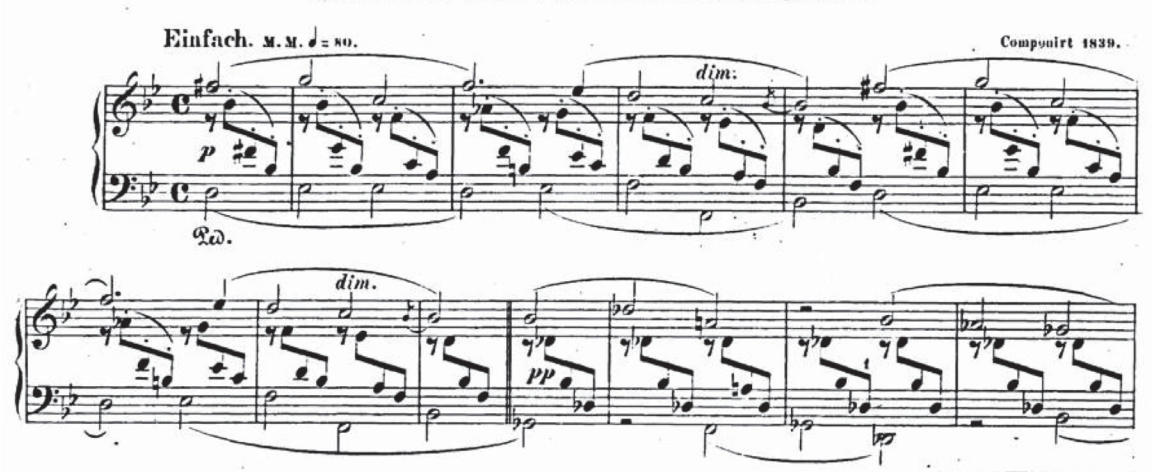
This sudden color change holds the vital clue when performing Schumann's music. Since his music changes abruptly in color and key area, the thematic materials must change colors as the key changes. Also, when there is a textural

[7] Ibid., 95.

change, conductors should take care to present the juxtaposition of the different characters unashamedly.

Example 1.1 Schumann "Widmung", Op. 25, No. 1, measures 11–16.

Example 1.2 Schumann *Humoresque*, Op. 20, measures 1–11.



Example 1.3 Schumann Piano Quintet, Op. 44, movement 1, measures 19-30.

Example 1.4 Schumann Piano Quartet, Op. 47, measures 43–54.

The slow movement of the *Rhenish* is a prime example of Schumann's typical common tone modulatory harmonic movement that aims at glorious color effects rather than thematic development. The third movement of this symphony begins tenderly in the tonic chord for the first two measures, and then afterward does not return to it for a while and enjoys wandering around. From the third measure, it has a secondary dominant chain with a descending bass line. When the melody enters with the violins, it is purposely not connected in long lines as it was with the clarinets in the beginning. The slurred staccatos, two note slurs, and four note slurs all next to each other create a disjointed yet tender atmosphere. The harmonic progression matches the string texture, one that is not fully arriving, but disjointed. The harmonic progression is I – V/V – V for the first phrase in measure 6, and it repeats, $I_{6\text{-}5}$ – $V^6{}_5$/V – V_6 in the next measure, last chord serving as the pivot chord leading to a V/vi in a E flat major alternating back and forth from 3rd and 4th scale degree with the pick up note to measure 8, then chromatically rising up to the E flat major chord in the tenth measure. The E flat chord quickly becomes a V with the violin playing D flat, and just when one expects to hear the melody again in the key of A flat, he shifts the tonal center to C flat major, a totally foreign key. (Example 2.1)

C flat major plays an important role in the symphony as the sound that is the farthest away from the home key, yet it is so closely related to the E flat in Schumann's harmony who enjoys lower major 3rd relationship. C flat often serves to bring back the theme to the home key of E flat as it will be shown later. In the third movement, Schumann goes from an E flat major chord to C flat major suddenly without any trace of chromatic modulation. This kind of harmonic shift occurs three

Example 2.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 3, measures 1–14.


7
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
arco
arco
11
A
fp

times in the movement: measures 11, 27, and 30. All this change happens discreetly and quickly without any prompting, creating a dream-like effect.

The second modulated key area is often with the chord in first inversion, keeping the same bass, which creates the abrupt color change with subtle movement. The entire movement must be played in a flowing tempo, "Nicht schnell" as Schumann marked, yet with sudden changes in color at the point of abrupt tonal shift.

The previous movement that ends in C major is also a major 3rd away from A flat, creating a feeling of a chromatic 3rd common tone modulation. Knowing this, the conductors must think of ways to bridge the movements without leaving too much time for the audience to forget the previous sounds.

Another signature sound of Schumann is the circle of 5th sequence. The circle of 5th sequence is nothing extraordinary, and actually quite common in the classical period, particularly in the development section. The progression often creates the *Sturm und Drang* effect in the classical development section, and the key element to this drama is the leaping bass that constantly shifts the tonal center, leading the desire to return to the cadential home key. An example of this is Mozart's Piano Sonata in F, K. 332, first movement. The transition theme is repeated rhythmic eighth note chords with bass root leaping in octaves to reinforce the rhythmic quality. (Example 3.1) The harmonic progression from measures 60 to 65 is a circle of 5th moving with a secondary dominant preparing for the next chord. The development section of the same movement is another circle of 5th progression, but this time with secondary 7th chords as the leading tone to the next tonic chord.

(Example 3.2) The purpose of this secondary dominant chain is to lead to the next important harmonic cadence. Schumann's secondary dominant chain exists to explore the color of that melodic line.

Example 3.1 Mozart Piano Sonata in F, K. 332, movement 1, measures 58–71.

Same movement, measures 110–126.

The opening of the first movement of the *Rhenish* Symphony uses the sequential progression with a secondary dominant chain. (Example 4.1) The effect of this motion is quite contrary from that of Mozart's. Instead of the listeners feeling the dramatic harmonic shift, the music is rather linear and flowing. The bass line keeps the motion flowing in a descending stepwise motion. The harmonic rhythm is not predictable, which gives a sense of spontaneity. In the first six measures the harmonic change occurs once on a downbeat and twice on an upbeat. Another occurrence of the dominant chain is from measures 25 through 31, this time with more vertical sound with chords changing on the downbeat with *sf*. Despite the rigid downbeat, the music still gives a flowing feeling with the descending line in the melody while keeping the ascending scale sequence. (Example 4.2)

Often when this movement is performed in a tempo closer to *Maestoso* than *Lebhaft*, these circle-of-fifth chains drag and feel perfunctory as if it had another agenda besides enjoying the harmonic movement. When the progression is used as a means of harmonic transition, he marks the rhythm more rigidly and obviously as in measures 25 through 31. Even then, one must remember that it is a transitional material, moving from one thing to another and one must not get bogged down. As noted in the beginning of this chapter, Schumann's tonality is more of a movement for the sake of pleasure than establishing the hierarchy between tonic and other chords. If one were to do an analysis, it would not be done by doing an overarching Schenkerian analysis, but by portraying a picture of sound movement and the harmonies' speed from one to another. A conductor must understand this moving quality and sometimes the lack of movement.

Example 4.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 1, measures 1–35.


7
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
a 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
Pk. (es/B)
I
Vl.
II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.


14
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
W.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
W.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
Tr. (Es) 1 2
Pk. (es/B)
tr
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.


21
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
a 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
Pk. (es/B)
tr
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
ff
sf


28
a 2
a 2
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl.
II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
sf
dim.
p

Schumann is constantly moving from one thing to another. It seems he wants to experience the emotions as they are happening and write them down at the same time, hence the quick, mercurial harmonic shifts. However, there are some times when Schumann stops and lingers. He does this in two different ways: sometimes he stops the harmonic movement completely by holding the bass in a long drone pedal, and other times he goes back and forth between moving progressions, creating the lingering effect.

The second and fourth movements of this symphony are classic examples of Schumann's sudden "stop" and "go". Upon hearing the second movement, one may not notice the subtle "stop" that Schumann puts on the second measure (Example 5.1), where the orchestra moves to the first V chord, the basses and timpani stay on their C, making it a C pedal point. The recapitulation is different, however. The bass changes from C to G for two measures, reinforcing the I – V motion in measure 79. (Example 5.2) Schumann does not move in the first statement to save the moving motion for the next section with the short sixteenth notes. After the canonic entrance in the sixteenth note section, the "trio" section in A minor has a C pedal instead of an A. (Example 5.3) This, too, is holding back the harmonic movement to A in order to make the next section in A major more liberating in contrast to the constraint, "unfulfilled" sound of A minor in first inversion without the root in the bass. The A major section relieves the ears by reinforcing the V –I motion. (Example 5.3) The pattern is clear; Schumann initially holds the harmonic movement the first time, thus holds the motion, and releases it in the next section as an answer to the previous tension, thus satisfying the ears and harmonic tension.

Example 5.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 2, measures 1–5.

Example 5.2 Same movement, measures 77–82.

Example 5.3 Same movement, measures 33–51.


39
1.
2.
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. (F) 1 2
W.-Hn. (C) 1 2
Tr. (F) 1 2
Pk. (c/G)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
pp
[pp]
tr


44
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 (F) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (C) 2
Tr. 1 (F) 2
Pk. (c/G)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
a 2
1.
*)
pp
fp
tr
[pp]


12.
48 II
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
a 2
V.-Hn. (F) 1 2
W.-Hn. (C) 1 2
Tr. (F) 1 2
Pk. (c/G)
I Vl.
II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
cresc.
cresc.

The fourth movement holds the harmonic movement steady with contrapuntal lines. The bass is not working as a harmonically leading bass line but a polyphonic line, creating a web of sound rather than a motion. This sound mass becomes thicker and thinner by note values becoming faster and slower. Due to the still harmonic motion in the movement, the C flat major brass section in rehearsal letter D is even more dramatic. (Example 6.1) Schumann literally stops the sound web and calls out in the foreign key that was foreshadowed in the first and third movements. It is as if he is calling back from the memories of the previous movements. When the harmonies seem to want to move forward and progress, he brings it to a steady drone bass of B flat, and repeats the E flat chord over five long measures to balance the length of the movement.

The last movement begins with a busy yet "loitering" feeling. The busyness comes from the lively texture, but the harmony keeps going back and forth from I chord to IV. (Example 7.1) The tonic chord is heard as a passing in the upbeat and when it is finally heard on the downbeat in measure 26, it quickly moves on again to a V chord in the next section, creating a sense of not fully arriving. Another great example of Schumann "stalling time" is in the Piano Quintet's last movement in the coda from measures 214 to 222 where he repeats $V^6{}_3$/V - $V^4{}_2$ – $I^6{}_3$ – $V^6{}_3$/V three times, and even when resolving, he only goes to $I^6{}_4$. (Example 7.2) It is not until another round of this stalling that the final root position I chord appears, which makes the landing of $I^5{}_3$ so much more satisfying.

The delayed resolution happens on a larger scale, from the 4th movement to the 5th. On hearing only without the score, the 4th movement sounds like an E flat

Example 6.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 4, measures 50–67.


54
E
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
1 2 Pos. 3
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
pp
ff
p
cresc.
dim.


61
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 2 (B)
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 2 (Es)
W.-Hn. 1 2 (Es)
Tr. 1 2 (Es)
1 2 Pos. 3
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
[p]
fp
tr

Example 7.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 5, measures 1–33.


8
a 2
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
W.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
Tr. (Es) 1 2
Pos. 1 2 3
Pk. (es/B)
Vl. I II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.


17
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
W.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
Tr. (Es) 1 2
Pos. 1 2 3
Pk. (es/B)
Vl. I II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
fp
f
sf
p cresc.


25
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
a 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
1 2 Pos. 3
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
p

Example 7.2 Schumann Piano Quintet, movement 4, measures 207–241.

minor throughout. Schumann goes through the trouble to leave out the G flat, D flat and C flat in the key signature and adds it in as he writes. (Example 8.1) This does two things: first, the performer is aware of the fact that Schumann intentionally made this movement "look" like an E flat of some sort. Second, when the fifth movement finally comes in a real E flat major, it's a relief. This effect takes place for the listener as well. When the G flat finally becomes a G natural in the last movement, it is a resolution that satisfies the eyes and ears. The basses and celli begin the finale with a G and constantly go back to it, and then as if to tease, move to A flat.

Example 8.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 4, measures 1–4.

Because he does not think of one movement or one song as an isolated piece, Schumann connects his ideas either from the previous movement or the subsequent one. In *Auf einer Burg* from *Liederkries*, Op. 39, the song sounds like E minor to the ear but the key signature indicates C major or A minor. (Example 9.1) The song eventually modulates to C tonality, then to A minor, thus making the last chord as a V of A minor. The real answer to the ambiguous key does not come until the next song, *In der Fremde*, which leads E to A in a descending melodic line. (Example 9.2) The same is true with the ambiguous ending of *Im wonderschonen Monat Mai*, a subject from Kopp's study.[8] This song ends in a V of the next song, linking the two together. As Kopp noted earlier, Schumann's ambiguous keys are a state of continuum, in this case, being isolated in a state of not moving forward and waiting to be released by the festive finale.

In order to realize the tension and release effect, the fourth movement must be played with control and steadiness, and the last movement should be lively, as Schumann indicated. Again, there should not be too much time gap between the two movements.

There is one other notable "stop" in the last movement. Throughout the movement, the E flat chord is only heard as a passing. The first time the tonic E flat is heard loudly and prolonged is just before the stretto coda in measure 256. (Example 10.1) This big moment of arrival is prepared by the B flat chord sounded for over ten measures. The interesting part is that the bass arrives at E flat in

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[8] David Kopp, "Intermediate States of Key in Schumann," in *Rethinking Schumann,* eds. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 300-328.

Example 9.1 Schumann "Auf einer Burg" from *Liederkries,* Op. 39, beginning.

Measures 18–end.

Example 9.2 Schumann "In der Fremde" from *Liederkries*, Op. 39, beginning

measure 253 three measures earlier than the rest of the orchestra. While the orchestra is playing a strong B flat chord, the basses and celli, after doing a full arpeggio and descending scale ranging two octaves, suddenly play a repeated E flat loudly, clashing with the other instruments creating a noise-like effect. This is as if Schumann is trying to slow down a massive herd of running horses, pulling back on the reins to stop several yards before their actual arrival. Instead of sprinting to land on the long-desired E flat tonic chord, Schumann prepares it with the "stopping" or slowing down with the bass E flat anticipation. After a brass fanfare in E flat, the E flat chord is enjoyed loudly and freely over a timpani roll and string arpeggiation. The effect is marvelous.

The C flat section was mentioned in the fourth movement as a point of complete stop in a foreign tonal area. The B/C flat major sound is heard in movements one, four and five, yet only in the fifth movement the B chord fanfare in measure 130 fully functions as a flat 6 that will bring the harmonic progression to V and finally to I. (Example 11.1) In the first movement during the development section, the theme is heard in the B major with bass keeping the B as a pedal. It does

Example 10.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 5, measures 243–261.


250
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
a 2
V.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
W.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
Tr. (Es) 1 2
Pos. 1 2 3
Pk. (es/B)
cresc.
ff
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.


256
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
W.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
Tr. (Es) 1 2
Pos. 1 2 3
Pk. (es/B)
Vl. I II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
ff
sf

Example 11.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 5, measures 127–158.


134
E
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
a 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (H) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
Pos. 1 2 3
Pk. (es/B)
Vl. I II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
p
cresc.
sf
[p] cresc.


140
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
a 2
V.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
W.-Hn. (H) 1 2
in Es
Tr. (Es) 1 2
Pos. 1 2 3
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
cresc.


146
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
a 2
a 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
W.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
(in Es)
Tr. (Es) 1 2
Pos. 1 2 3
Pk. (es/B)
tr
tr
Vl. I II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
f


152
F
a 2
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
1 2 Pos.
3
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
ff

resolve to a B flat eventually but when it goes to an E flat minor, it is in the first inversion, leaving B flat in the bass. The fourth movement has the same chord progression, B major moving to E, a flat II Neapolitan, then to a V, a B flat major, then to the final i, E flat minor chord. (see Example 6.1) The fifth movement satisfies the unresolved resolutions of the 1st and 4th movement. At rehearsal letter D, (see Example 11.1) another brass fanfare is heard in B major. This time, after chromatic movements from F sharp to F, then to the B flat pedal, the theme finally returns in E flat major at the recapitulation in measure 254. To celebrate this return, Schumann employs all instruments, including the trombones that entered in the fourth movement, and puts violins and violas in his unique texture of repeated fast notes while playing the melody.

The third interval relationship in Schumann is prevalent. Often Schumann's pieces begin on 3rd scale degree and even end on the 3rd. The third movement of the symphony has a pick up note but the downbeat is a long 3rd scale degree C, and the movement ends in C. The last note of the symphony is a G, 3rd scale degree in E flat. Schumann often leaves the ending open on a 3rd, a great examples of this being *Von fremden Ländern und Menschen* from *Kinderszenen*, which appropriately leaves the ending implying a hopeful look to the next phase, the next "curious story". The symphony's ending is also a hopeful one that looks forward to the next celebration. After a solemn ceremony of the 4th movement with the trombones bringing the sound of a religious procession, the finale is a celebration at the Rhine after the holiday by the Dusseldorf citizens.[9] The optimistic ending is Schumann's view on life

[9] Grove, *Schumann's Symphony,* 791.

and his wish in Dusseldorf. The piece is more optimistic than victorious. The tempo and sound texture should reflect that character. Many orchestras have played this symphony in utter *Maestoso* and match the sound of Schumann to Brahms 3rd symphony or Beethoven *Eroica*. Schumann clearly wrote *Lebhaft* and his lively tempo should carry the tonal movements and color effects comfortably.

Without a careful study of Schumann's harmonic movements and their functions, it is easy to misunderstand his compositions. Weingartner found Schumann's themes to be repetitive and complained, "By such tonic repetitions which, naturally, are also rhythmic, his larger orchestral works easily become monotonous" and found "adoption of phrases which often have no *raison d'être* in the organic whole." [10] Schumann is careful in his structure of the form that will fit his purpose of harmonic "intermediate states" and the themes that he has worked brilliantly with the character of his music.

Texture

Of all the things that Tovey wrote against Schumann, nothing can be farther from the truth than his accusation on the heavy doubling that Schumann supposedly wrote to cover his weak conducting skills.[11] As mentioned in the previous chapter, it was the poor performance level of the orchestras of his time that marred the piece. Something that may sound more credible is that of Weingartner who made a similar accusation of Schumann symphonies without referring to the conducting aspect. He wrote, "With an almost childish lack of skill, he (Schumann) thought he could

[10] Weingartner, *Symphony Writers,* 34.
[11] Tovey, *Essays,* 49.

produce a fullness and power of sound by doubling the parts. His instrumentation became, through this, so thick and dull that if it were played as he marked it, nothing of any meaning would be given out by the orchestra, and it would be as impossible to produce a true *forte* as an expressive *pianissimo*."[12] How then does Weingartner explain Schumann's success and popularity in chamber music? The chamber works have similar texture as the symphonies in many aspects, yet unlike the symphonies, chamber musics were popular ever since their completion. As discussed in the previous chapter, Schumann had virtuoso performers promoting the chamber works, but the caliber of the orchestras in general was poor and needed the painstaking detailed rehearsals under the guidance of patient conductors such as Mendelssohn.

Thinking of chamber music, many composers, such as Mahler, wrote for larger ensembles with chamber music texture in mind. Vice versa is true also, as is the case for Mendelssohn who wrote the octet with orchestral sound in mind. Mahler's orchestration style was using pure sound of the instruments and only mixing when absolutely necessary.[13] On the other hand, Schumann often mixed colors even when writing for chamber music and doubled on parts. In his dissertation Howard Pitt Hsu discusses the layering effect of Mahler's pure, unmixed sound in his orchestration and its effectiveness when applied to Schumann.[14] I am proposing that Schumann was fully aware of the effects of mixing color and he did this to achieve the sound he wanted; this kind of texture is another signature sound

[12] Weingartner, *Symphony Writers,* 36-7.
[13] Raynor, *Orchestra*, 162.
[14] Howard Pitt Hsu, "A Comparison of Robert Schumann's Fourth Symphony with its Reorchestration by Gustav Mahler" (DMA diss., University of Connecticut, 2009), 17.

of Schumann. The effectiveness of Schumann's unique texture can be appreciated only upon accurate and truthful performance of the score.

A classic example of Schumann's mixed timbre is his popular Piano Quintet in E flat. Whenever the *forte* tutti section returns, the piano is often doubling on the melody with the strings. (Example 12.1) Compare this work with another piece of the same genre, Dvořák Piano Quintet in A, Op. 81. Written 45 years after Schumann's Quintet, this is chamber music composed by a celebrated symphonic writer. Unlike Schumann, Dvořák's layout of the piece is a constant dialogue between the string group and the piano, similar to Mahler's orchestration. Hardly ever do the different instrument groups play in unison or double on the melody even in the forte sections. The climactic return of the A major theme happens in the piano in second inversion while the strings are playing a countermelody. After the big piano melodic line, the first violin takes the same line with accompaniment by the rest in softer tone. Right after the soft lyrical section, lively triplets interrupt on the piano with eighth notes for the strings, and immediately afterward the texture is reversed with triplets on the strings and eighth notes on the piano. (Example 12.2) This kind of interplay happens throughout the piece, with a clear demarcation of the piano and strings' role. Dvořák's strings sound as a coherent group and the piano is an addition that plays against them as in concerto.

When Schumann's colors are separated, it sounds foreign from his typical sound. Mahler's reorchestration of Schumann may sound clear, but it is not what Schumann intended. Schumann's textures were purposely not written to show off the extreme registers or brilliant timbres of the instruments. The mixed colors were

Example 12.1 Schumann Piano Quintet, Op. 44, movement 1, beginning.

Same movement, development section.

Example 12.2 Dvořák Piano Quintet in A Major, Op. 81, movement 1, recapitulation.


315
320
J
pp
f
p
P
3 legg.

to add to the harmonic mercurial qualities of quickly changing the colors within the same timbre, not disjointing and disconnecting the interwoven timbres. Mixture of timbre is also a part of the signature Schumann sound.

One of Schumann's favorite textures was doubling the melody with shorter note values, such as broken eighth notes or tremolo. There are numerous places in the Third Symphony that have this texture, and the most notable places are the climactic ones in *fff* at letter N in the first movement at the recapitulation, and in the fifth movement, again at the recapitulation at letter F in *ff.* Mahler and other conductors took the liberty of changing the texture in the first movement sixteenth notes by the first violins to make the returning melody in the recapitulation more lyrical and audible. Instead of having all of first violins playing the sixteenth note as written, some conductors have divided the section into half playing sixteenth notes as written, and the other half playing with long note values as did in the beginning. These conductors' adjustments work great if the intention was to make the returning melody more prominent and lyrical; however, this does not coincide with the rest of the movement's harmonic shifts and exuberant character. The bass does not return to the E flat root and it does not play the strong E flat tonic chord until later in the transition theme, which indicates that measure 411 is not a triumphant or relieving arrival point as are most recapitulations. (Example 13.1) Schumann is still holding the motion forward and is enjoying the vibrancy and excitement of the syncopated rhythm. In fact, the horns first sound the theme in E flat a few lines before the strings in rehearsal letter L, but note that the bass is B flat here also. (Example 13.2)

The timpani highlights the forward feeling by obscuring the bar lines with the absence of the strong down beat in every other measure, creating a hemiola effect. (Example 13.1) Schumann does not cadentially settle at the E flat tonic chord until the very end of the movement, but again with the forward motion of the strings with slurred ascending leaps. (Example 13.3)

The same can be said about the fifth movement recapitulation at letter F. (Example 13.4) It is not a return back to home, but the movement has become even more characteristically vibrant and it is heard through the violins playing the melody line an octave higher in sixteenth note. The bass line also adds to the excitement with double eighth notes. Again, it is not an arrival of the main theme, but another forward motion toward the final E flat pedal at the coda, just before the final stretto. (Example 10.1) If the orchestra were to play the recapitulation as an arrival, the piece would stop where harmonically Schumann intended it to be in motion.

Both Schumann and Brahms enjoyed the middle register and interwoven texture of the colors. Observing Brahms' F Minor Quintet, Brahms begins with mixed colors of piano and strings. (Example 14.1) His treatment of the theme is different than Dvorak in that it is not piano versus the strings, but all instruments are woven together as a web, creating another layer of polyphony through the timbre. The same movement of the F Minor Quintet at letter D serves as a key example of Brahms' understanding of texture and orchestration. The piano is interwoven with the strings, either by doubling or by creating polyphony. When other composers separate to distinguish the different colors, Brahms and Schumann mix different

Example 13.1 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 1, recapitulation.


416
a 2
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl.
II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.


424
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
a 2
sfz
sf
tr

Example 13.2 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 1, rehearsal letter L.

Example 13.3 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 1, ending.


578
a 2
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. 1 (B) 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
W.-Hn. 1 (Es) 2
Tr. 1 (Es) 2
Pk. (es/B)
I Vl. II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.

Example 13.4 Schumann Symphony No. 3, movement 5, rehearsal letter F.


G
159
Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Klar. (B) 1 2
Fg. 1 2
V.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
W.-Hn. (Es) 1 2
Tr. (Es) 1 2
Pos. 1 2 3
Pk. (es/B)
Vl. I II
Br.
Vc.
Kb.
sfp

timbre to give different weight and color of sound.

Compare Brahms Op. 118, Intermezzi for the piano with Schumann's *Davidsbundler* 11th piece. (Example 14.2) The fifth piece of Brahms' Op. 118 collection, the *Romance* has the melody in the two middle voices in octaves. (Example 14.3) When the melody comes back it is often doubled with another voice in octaves. The theme repeats four times, all with harmonies ending in V except for the last one that comes briefly to I only to transition to A major to go to the next D major section. The D major stays in the tonic tonality and transitions back to the F major through a simple modal exchange. The simple ternary form has built in strophic form for the F major song-like theme that needs to resolve, and when the V_7/IV brings it to a sweet plagal cadence at the end, the piece has a sense of closure and completeness in harmony and structure.

Example 14.1 Brahms Piano Quintet in F Minor, Op. 34, movement 1. Beginning.

Same movement, rehearsal letter D.

Schumann's *Davidsbundlertänze* no. 11 has melody in octaves as in Brahms Op. 118 No. 5. (Example 14.2) It is in a short rounded binary form without any development, and the melody is in the lower alto register in the middle section. Harmonically it begins in B minor and ends in D major. It may seem as if Schumann wanted to emphasize the D major arrival because he repeats the 4 measure D major line both in a and b sections; however, because there is no strong harmonic movement and it "lingers" in D major sonority, it sounds like a parenthesis, a small quotation of D major sound inserted in between minor modes to give a break, and that is exactly the purpose of this movement. (Example 14.4) The next movement, No. 12, begins in B minor harmony and ends in E minor. No. 11 was needed to connect the tonal bridge from No. 10 and 12, therefore No. 11 must be performed in a tempo that is flowing, not slow, and the movement must serve as the prelude to the next piece.

Example 14.2 Schumann *Davidsbündlertänze,* Op. 6.

No. 10, last 6 measures.

No. 11

No. 12, beginning.

Example 14.3 Brahms *Intermezzi,* Op. 118 "Romanze"


Allegretto grazioso
molto p e dolce sempre
p dolce
p leggiero


pp
dim.
10
(𝅗𝅥 = 𝅗𝅥)
pp
dim.
Tempo I
p
espressivo
più espress.
rit.
dim.
p
Ped.

In general, Schumann is different than Brahms in his treatment of harmony. Brahms is more traditional in a sense that his harmonic progressions are in motion for the sake of direction. His tonality exists to build the formal construction and for the arrival of the cadences. As for Schumann, his harmonies exist to enjoy the motion itself. This is why their music should be played differently, although many aspects of their music are similar.

Schumann was a proponent of his contemporaries such as Brahms, Chopin, and even Berlioz. However, it must not be misunderstood that his praise for their colors and style does not translate to adaptation of their style of performance into his own pieces. Many composers and conductors after Schumann were devoted to promoting Schumann's music, but their interpretation should not have overridden Schumann's own writing, as many took on the liberty to change like Mahler's reorchestrations. Mahler's unmixed sound of Schumann is Mahler's sound of Schumann. Schumann had a purpose for his idiosyncratic textures and all of these characteristics add up to make Schumann's sound.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Schumann in the hands of 21st century musicians

Of all Schumann symphonies, the E flat Symphony is perhaps one that is least spoken about. The Fourth in D Minor received some attention in the mid 1900's due to the fact that Schumann revised it over the span of ten years, and his revisions led to interesting comparisons. During the last few decades, the Second Symphony in C Major and the First Symphony in B flat Major have come upon the concert stage as an option for "new" and lesser known works in programming. Even after scholars have written about the Schumann symphonies, it took some time for them to become canonized in the major symphonic repertoire.

Peter Burkholder in his intriguing article titled *The Twentieth Century and the Orchestra as Museum*, lists the criteria that "classical" music holds, ones that stand the test of time. They are: lasting value, links to tradition, individuality and familiarity.[1] When Schumann was composing his pieces, he was fighting against the system of the musical world. The publishers sought to publish music that would sell. The concert halls and the audience determined who would be their next Beethoven and the composers all competed to get their music out to the audience and win their approval. Schumann had to make the music satisfying for his high standard and also please the common ears. Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift* was created to filter out the bad music of his time and promote the quality compositions and Schumann helped

[1] J. Peter Burkholder, "The Twentieth Century and the Orchestra as Museum," in *The Orchestra,* ed. Joan Peyser (New York: Billboard Books, 2000), 418.

young, rising composers to rise up in their reputation through his journal. The question was, who would fight for him?

In a study of the sketches and revisions of *Ouverture, Scherzo, und Finale,* Op. 52, Jon Finson concludes that Schumann reworked his pieces when the audience was less than enthusiastic to "enhance its commercial viability."[2] This may be true for the D Minor Symphony, which he revised for a decade, and also for the B flat Major Symphony that he worked on with Mendelssohn who was conducting the piece. For the E flat Major Symphony, this is a work that he wrote after having the experience of writing four major symphonic works, three symphonies and Op. 52. He had an orchestra at his hand, not of a high caliber, but still an orchestra that he could work with. The Third Symphony is not as technically demanding as the other three because it was written for the Dusseldorf orchestra. Schumann was well aware of his audience so he chose a subject and themes that would be easily memorable to the common citizens. The *Rhenish* had everything that should have led to its full success, except for conductors that would fairly and honestly promote his work.

Some other works of Schumann had to wait a while to receive their fair hearing. The Cello Concerto, originally titled *Konzertstück*, did not get its first premier until ten years after its completion and four years after the composer's death. Schumann wrote this piece just before writing the *Rhenish* and Clara wholeheartedly approved, "The Romantic quality, the vivacity, the freshness and

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[2] Jon Finson, "Schumann, Popularity, and the *Ouverture, Scherzo, und Finale*, Opus 52," *The Musical Quarterly, Vol. 69, No. 1* (Winter, 1983): 7, accessed April 4, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/741798.

humor, also the highly interesting interweaving of violoncello and orchestra are indeed wholly ravishing, and what euphony and deep feeling one finds in all the melodic passages!"[3] It took several decades for this piece to come into the standard concerto repertoire, and took such virtuoso cellists as Rostropovich to bring it to large concert halls. The Violin Sonatas also did not have an immediate success. In fact, the first performance by Clara Schumann and Ferdinand David was not successful with the audience and the first edition did not become popular either.[4] During that time, often audience purchased sheet music after hearing it in a concert, and because the concert was not successful, Schumann faced difficulty publishing the Violin Sonatas. It took Joseph Joachim's brilliant interpretation and performance to bring the repertoire up to its deserved standard.

The E flat Major Symphony was an immediate success in the premier and had a few other successive performances that were well received. It was the other poor performances that hurt Schumann's symphonic reputation, and more importantly, his second rate conducting skills hurt his symphonic reputation. Of the later years at Dusseldorf, it is recorded that Schumann often became frustrated with the orchestra and the choir, and the members' support for him declined as the years went by, which eventually led to removing him from the post in 1854.[5] After Schumann's

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[3] Michael Steinberg, program notes to *Schumann Concerto for Violoncello in A minor, Op. 129,* accessed May 31, 2014, http://www.philharmonia.org/march-program-notes-schumanns-cello-concerto/

[4] Jozef De Beenhouwer, program notes to *Schumann Sonata No. 1, Piano and Violin, A minor, Op. 105,* accessed May 31, 2014, http://www.janetpacker.com/rschumann.html.

[5] Daverio, *Herald,* 445.

death, his symphonies were left up to the living conductors, who sought to make a name for themselves on the podium with their own stamp on the repertoire.

Unfortunately, some of these attempts created a negative impression as they brought upon Schumann an unfair light that misrepresented what he wrote. Critics began to write harshly of the symphonies. Even those that tried to bring back Schumann's symphonies only acknowledged and justified and the critics' negative remarks of the symphonies by superimposing their own interpretation over Schumann's original score. Many conductors may have had the best of intentions as George Bernard Shaw, who believed he was doing justice to Beethoven by retouching on his instrumentation. He wrote, "Anything for Beethoven's sake"[6] Regardless of the good intentions, the misunderstanding that built up for Schumann's symphonies remained for over a century.

Notable conductors from the 20th century made recordings of Schumann's 3rd Symphony with their own personal interpretation and instrumental touch-ups. Deutsche Gramophone canonized Giulini and Karajan's interpretation of the work, Karajan's being more acceptable than Giulini's extremely slow tempo. Bernstein's 1960 recording with the New York Philharmonic has the emphatic eighth note drive as if a train is chugging along. Thankfully his 1984 recording with the Wiener Philarmoniker is closer to Schumann's *Lebhaft* tempo. In one of the first recordings of this piece, Otto Klemperer in 1969 took the slowest tempo of all movements, making the recording several minutes longer than many other recordings that came afterward.

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[6] Denis Stevens, "Why Conductors? Their Role and the Idea of Fidelity," in *The Orchestra,* Joan Peyser (New York: Billboard Books, 2000), 248.

Thankfully, owing to the growing interest in the historical performance in the late 20th century, musical experts started to look more into the period style, which is drastically different than the recorded versions of the famous conductors. With the new scholarship, conductors such as Roger Norrington and Nikolaus Harnoncourt experimented with the early romantic pieces with period instruments and period style performance. The results were interesting, but not as compelling as the modern style performance because the modern listeners were used to hearing the modern sound. The historical performance was necessary to study the sound that Schumann may have heard, but it certainly was not superior than the well-oiled modern instrument orchestra.

Recently, renowned conductors as David Zinman and the young British conductor Daniel Harding stood up to be spokespersons for Schumann in stating that modern orchestras can adapt some principles of the performance practices of Schumann's time and bring successful and more honest performances of Schumann by synthesizing the old and new styles. They have not only gained credibility for themselves as scholars and conductors, they have brought a new light to the Schumann Symphonies for the performers and audience alike.

As a pianist and conductor, Schumann has been a composer close to my heart since the early years of my musical studies. As years went by, his music became more intimate to me, yet I could not understand why his symphonies held a poor reputation. As I searched for good recordings, it became evident that there was a big misunderstanding, mainly by the music critics and archived recordings from the previous century. Despite the movement for more historically relevant

performances from decades ago, there is still more room for the Schumann symphonies to grow as the previous era's misconceptions still linger among the majority. Shedding of the misconception of Schumann Symphonies then became my quest by sharing this information with rising conductors of my generation.

The Schumann *Rhenish* Symphony has rightfully triumphed in the fierce canonical selection of the classical symphonic repertoire. It has withstood the difficult test of time, neglect, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation, and now over a century and a half later, the Third Symphony has gained a higher ground in the concert stage than ever before.

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